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ABSTRACT

This issue of "Working Papers in Educational Linguistics" begins with "Negative Evidence in Language Classroom Activities: A Study of Its Availability and Accessibility to Language Learners" (Teresa Pica and Gay N. Washburn), which revisits the issue of negative evidence in second language classrooms. The second paper, "Reassessing Parent Involvement: Involving Language Minority Parents in School Work at Home" (Kimberly Daniel-White), evaluates the theoretical stance of traditional parental involvement programs in the United States and implications for the involvement of language minority parents. The third paper, "What Is Missing in Interlanguage? Acquisition of Determiners by Korean Learners of English" (Hyun-Sook Kang), studies the acquisition of a new functional category in the interlanguage development of advanced Korean students. The fourth paper, "A Study on Closing Sections of Japanese Telephone Conversations" (Tomoko Takami), examines how closings are realized in Japanese telephone conversations between intimates. (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's ***Working Papers in Educational Linguistics.*** The work contained in this collection represents the diverse interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication.

In this issue:

Teresa Pica and Gay Washburn revisit the issue of negative evidence in second language classrooms. Examining data collected on adult, pre-academic English language learners, they provide data supporting sentence construction activities as more productive in providing negative evidence for students than classroom discussions.

Kimberly Daniel-White evaluates the theoretical stance of traditional parental involvement programs in the United States and its implications for the involvement of language minority parents. She also provides a ethnographic description of a parental involvement mini-grant and how its outcomes help a language minority family become involved in the school work of one of their children.

Hyun-Sook Kang studies the acquisition of a new functional category in the interlanguage development of advanced Korean students. This research indicates the importance of fom-focused instruction by showing that new functional features are absent in advanced learners' interlanguage systems.

Tanaka Takami examines how closings are realized in Japanese telephone conversations between intimates. Findings from this study suggest that closings are a crucial speech behavior in Japanese because they act as confirmation of the interlocutors' relationships.

In addition to our advisor, Nancy Hornberger, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Penny Creedon, Lorraine Hightower, Suzanne Oh, and Mary Schlesinger.

We hope that you find the following contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

Negative Evidence in Language Classroom Activities: A Study of its Availability and Accessibility to Language Learners

Teresa Pica

University of Pennsylvania

Gay N. Washburn

Syracuse University

The following study was motivated by theoretical interest in second language learners' need for negative evidence in helping them notice differences between their developmental errors and target L2 features. The study sought to identify and describe the ways in which negative evidence was made available and accessible to learners during two widely practiced classroom activities. One was a teacher-led discussion, which emphasized communication of subject matter content, and the other, a teacher-led sentence construction exercise, which focused on application of grammatical rules. Empirical support for negative evidence has come mainly from interventions that provide negative evidence to learners through responses devoted exclusively to feedback on their errors. Questions remain, however, as to whether negative evidence can be made available and accessible during classroom activities, as responses to learners serve a wide range of purposes, not all of which relate to error feedback.

Data for the study were collected on adult, pre-academic English language learners during six discussions that centered on reactions to American film and literature, and six sets of exercises that required construction of individual sentences. Findings revealed little availability of negative evidence in the content-based discussions. Responses to students were primarily topic related back-channels and continuation moves, as their fluent, multi-error texts on content topics appeared to limit obvious opportunities for provision of negative evidence. Much greater availability and accessibility of negative evidence were found in the sentence construction exercises. Responses informed students of their inaccuracies, as the words and phrases they supplied in completing individual sentences set up conditions for follow up evaluation of their accuracy.

The paucity of negative evidence on errors during the discussions reflected current concerns as to the limitations of communicative, meaning focused activities in helping students to access negative evidence on their errors (see Lightbown & Spada 1990, 1997; Long 1996; Lyster & Ranta 1997). The success of the sentence construction activity in providing students with negative evidence on their sentence errors was offset by its limited opportunities for meaningful input and production of output. Results from the study of both activities suggested several pedagogical implications and applications.

Input and Evidence in Second Language Learning

That second language (L2) learners need input for their learning is fundamental to second language acquisition theory and language pedagogy. Research over the past two decades has addressed questions about the exact form and content of the input that learners need, and its degrees of frequency and timing in the learning process (see Ellis 1994; Gass & Selinker 1994; Lightbown & Spada 1990; Long 1996; Pica 1994; Swain 1995 for syntheses of this work). More recently, new questions have emerged about the kinds of input needed by second language (L2) learners to achieve a successful L2 outcome. Long (in Long 1996 and in Long, Inagaki, & Ortega 1998) has addressed these questions. Drawing from first language learning theory and research (including Farrar 1990, 1992; Nelson 1977 for example) and from studies of L2 form-focused instruction (such as those of Spada & Lightbown 1993; White 1991; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991) and experimental intervention (Oliver 1995; Richardson 1995), Long has distinguished between input that provides positive evidence of relationships of L2 form, function and meaning, and input that supplies negative evidence on forms and structures that are used by learners, but are not consistent with the L2 they are learning. The former is believed to be necessary for the process of L2 learning, but not sufficient for its mastery. The latter may be helpful in this regard.

Positive evidence of L2 words and structures can be found in responses of input in an authentic, unaltered state or in input modified for comprehensibility, as target-like productions of words or phrases might be extracted by interlocutors from their original utterances, and repeated, rephrased, defined, or embellished with examples. These modifications not only assist learners in their comprehension of L2 input, but also allow them additional, more focused, opportunities to attend to L2 forms which encode meanings and functions in the input (see also Pica 1994). It is believed that the process of L2 learning is guided primarily by the positive, linguistic evidence that these modifications provide.

As Long (1996) has pointed out, however, modified input is an insufficient source of evidence for learners, who might not notice L2 forms and features that are difficult, complex, or highly similar to their L1. In addition, learners might not notice differences between target versions of L2 forms and features that are encoded in modified input and their own erroneous interlanguage versions of them. This is especially the case if they have internalized inaccurate versions of L2 forms and structures that are functionally adequate for communicative purposes (see also Doughty & Williams 1998; Schmidt 1990).

To help learners access, and eventually internalize, target versions of L2 forms and the meanings and functions they encode, it is claimed that negative evidence about what is not acceptable in the L2 can be especially useful. Such evidence can help learners notice differences between developmental features of their interlanguage and target features of the L2 (see again Schmidt 1990 for data and discussion).

Theoretically, however, the role of negative evidence in second language learning has been subject to considerable debate, especially in light of its alleged lack of necessity in first language learning (Schwartz 1993; Schwartz & Gubala-Ryzak 1992). On the basis of seminal studies in the field (see, for example, Brown & Hanlon 1970), it was claimed, for many years, that negative evidence was not even available to first language learners, or accessible to them in any systematic or usable way. As follow up research was able to reveal its availability to learners (see Bohannon & Stanowicz 1988; Hirsh-Pasek, Treiman & Schneiderman 1984), additional issues then arose as to whether children made use of such evidence, or indeed, if they needed to do so to advance their learning.

Truscott (1996), for example, has argued that it is not simply enough for negative evidence to be made available in responses to errors. It must be organized in ways that make it noticeable. That negative evidence can be made available and accessible through planned instruction and explicit corrective feedback has been documented in classroom studies (see Chaudron 1977 for research and Chaudron 1988 for a review of research, and also Allwright 1975; Fanselow 1977). In a recent classroom study, Lyster & Ranta (1997) found that the singular function of explicit feedback made it more frequently noticed by learners than other responses to their errors. However, more implicit encodings of feedback were difficult to perceive with respect to their functionality as negative evidence. As will be described below, this is one of the findings that motivated the present study.

Research has also shown that negative evidence can be made available implicitly when conversational interaction is modified by responses to learners which request greater comprehensibility, clarification, and accuracy. These responses thus carry additional functions for conversational repair which both facilitate and impede their accessibility as negative evidence. On the one hand, they make negative evidence more meaningful and contextualized for learners to notice and utilize, but on the other hand, their very meaningfulness makes them more likely to be noticed for their conversational role and content focus than for the implicit messages they convey about the learners' errors in form. Examples of explicit and implicit negative evidence are provided in Figure 1.

As shown in Figure 1 items (1a) - (1f), conversational responses can offer learners implicit negative evidence through statements and questions regarding the responder's need for message comprehensibility, as in (1a and 1b), clarification (1c) - (1f), and confirmation (1g). The error may be the focus of the response, as in (1c) - (1f). Often, target L2 versions of words and phrases are included, as is the case for begins in (1h) - (1i), or the learner's utterance is left intact, with only its intonation changed, as in (1g). Researchers have referred to such conversational responses as signals to achieve greater comprehensibility through the negotiation of meaning (see Gass & Varonis 1989, 1994; Long 1985, 1996; Pica 1988, 1994). When comprehensibility is not at issue, as often happens in interaction among familiar interlocutors in a classroom context, teachers may use these same signals to promote accuracy, through what has been referred to as the negotiation of form (see Lyster 1998; Lyster & Ranta 1997).

Also shown in Figure 1, other responses, such as (1h) and (1i), expand or recast utterances with errors, replacing them with L2 versions. They too, offer implicit negative evidence, alerting learners subtly to imprecisions in the meaning of their messages, as they recode erroneous forms within them and promote the negotiation of form. As such, they are subject to many more interpretations compared to the responses of (1j) - (1l), which also recode erroneous forms, but do so through explicit correction and instructional, metalinguistic input.

Some researchers have found connections between different types of responses and the learner utterances that follow them. Thus, Oliver (1995) found that recasts such as (1i) were more abundant for learner utterances that contained only one error, but utterances of negotiation of meaning, as in (1a) - (1g), were the preferred response to multi-error utterances.

Figure 1. Responses to Learner Errors

English L2 Learner	**NS English Interlocutor**
The class begin at two.	(1a) I didn't understand
	(1b) What did you say?
	(1c) What about the class?
	(1d) What happens at two?
	(1e) The class does what at two?
	(1f) It does what at two?
	(1g) The class begin at two?
	(1h) Ah the class on film begins at two
	(1i) The class begins at two
	(1j) You need to say that the class begins at two
	(1k) You need to add -s to begin
	(1l) Class is singular. So you need to make begin agree with it.

Much of what is known about negative evidence has come from experimental and quasi-experimental studies that make negative evidence available and accessible to learners by targeting emergent L2 forms and structures they have yet to master, providing responses of explicit and implicit feedback to their errors, and then tracking its usefulness in their error revision and L2 development of these forms and structures. Many of these studies were implemented under laboratory-like conditions. Others were carried out in intact classrooms with researcher intervention (see Carroll & Swain 1993; DeKeyser 1993; Mackey & Philp 1998; Oliver 1995; Richardson 1995; Williams & Evans 1998; Long, Inagaki & Ortega 1998 for the former, and Doughty & Varela 1998; Tomasello & Herron 1988, 1989; Spada & Lightbown 1993; White 1991; and White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991 for the latter).

These studies have revealed important findings on the role of negative evidence in the modification, development, and in some instances, retention, of targeted forms and structures. Thus, in studies on English language learners, Carroll & Swain (1993) found gains for dative constructions, Doughty and Varela (1998) for verb tense and aspect markers, Mackey & Philp (1996), Spada & Lightbown (1993) and White et al. (1991) for questions, White (1991) for adverb placement rules, and Williams & Evans (1998) for participial adjectives. With respect to languages other than English, Long, Inagaki, & Ortega (1998) found that negative evidence made a difference for Spanish adjective ordering and adverb placement in Japanese. Finally, in research on French language learners, Tomasello & Herron (1988, 1989) found greater learner revision of grammatical features prone to errors of English L1 transfer and overgeneralization when such errors were induced and teacher feedback was immediate.

Researchers have also documented the importance of negative evidence in the short term. Thus, Oliver (1995) and Richardson (1995) found that recasts were especially effective in helping learners to revise their utterances. Lyster & Ranta (1997) found that learners were able to uptake or show that they had noticed target features after they had been given explicit correction of their imprecisions. Pica (1985) and Pica, Holliday, Lewis, & Morgenthaler (1989) found that clarification requests to learner imprecisions had an impact on their production at both lexical and morphosyntactic levels. Similar results were found by Nobuyoshi & Ellis (1993).

In contrast to this impressive range of carefully controlled studies, studies of naturally occurring conversation, without researcher intervention, have suggested that negative evidence is not so clearly available or accessible to L2 learners (see for example, studies of conversation partner interaction by Chun, Day, Chenoweth, & Luppescu 1982; Day, Chenoweth, Chun & Luppescu 1984). Conversational responses to learners can carry identical encodings, but serve one or more purposes. The encoding of clarification and confirmation requests, for example, can be identical to that used to seek additional content, express surprise, cope with a noisy background, or maintain conversation.

In the classroom as well, responses to target and non-target utterances often can serve more than one function or outcome. As pointed out by Lyster (1998) and Lyster & Ranta (1997), recasts have been shown to be effective signals for error revision when studied under controlled research conditions that limit their function as responses to errors. However they do not operate as consistently in classroom contexts. There they can encode a variety of pedagogical functions beyond that of offering a correct model of the students' errors. They can reinforce student contributions of accurate content, convey approval, or indicate acceptance, and thereby reduce the possibility that the learner will notice the available negative evidence. Thus, Lyster & Ranta (1997) found that classroom learners were more likely to notice or "uptake" negative evidence that was encoded in explicit corrections than in moves such as recasts, whose encoding shared functional features with other, non-corrective, reinforcement or content enhancement moves.

So far, both experimental and descriptive classroom studies on questions of negative evidence have focused on immersion and content-oriented classrooms, which are somewhat unique as in light of their dual goals for language and subject matter learning. Other communicatively oriented classrooms have been studied as well, although their focus has often been on instructional input as a whole, rather than responses to learner errors specifically (see Lightbown & Spada 1990).

To gain further insight into negative evidence in the L2 classroom, therefore, the present study focused exclusively on responses to student errors, as it compared the availability and accessibility of negative evidence in two types of classroom activities. One was a communicatively oriented activity, where the emphasis was on discussion of film and literature course topics. The other was a grammar-based exercise, designed to assist students in their grammar rule learning and formal accuracy.

If negative evidence is as helpful to L2 learning as experimental and intervention studies have indicated, it was important to know more about its availability and accessibility in these two very different types of activities. As such, they reflect critical choices during the current post method period of L2 teaching, in which teachers, curriculum planners, and other language educators, as well as students, might select from a range of pedagogical options in guiding the acquisition of L2 form, meaning and function (see discussions in Kumaravadivelu 1994; Pica 2000). In addition, the current trend toward specialized and elective courses, particularly at the university level, suggested that negative evidence might be made more readily available to learners, or accessible to them in different ways, depending on the types of activities selected for these courses.

The following questions were therefore addressed:

> To what extent is negative evidence available in responses to learners' errors in content-based and grammar-based classroom activities?
>
> How is the negative evidence made available during these activities? Are there consistent patterns in its suppliance and level of explicitness that make it accessible to learners?

In its focus on the availability and accessibility of negative evidence across two different types of classroom activities, the study was also informed by the growing body of research that has connected classroom activities with negative evidence and learning outcomes (see, for example, Doughty and Varela 1998; Lapkin and Swain 1996; Lightbown and Spada 1990; Lyster 1998; Lyster and Ranta 1997; Oliver 1995, 2000). This made it essential to incorporate the construct of activity into the research questions and to identify dominant classroom activities used within each context as a basis for analysis. These methodological matters are discussed in the following section, which includes a description of the classroom contexts, participants, and activities of the study.

Method

Classroom Context

Data were gathered in an intensive, university based English language institute. The classes, which were drawn from elective and core courses in content and grammar, met during 50 to 100 minute blocks of time, four to five times a week, over a seven week period. Six content-based class meetings were studied. Three of the classes focused on literature and culture, as students read and responded to American English literary texts. The other three classes focused on film and American culture, and used videotapes of modern U.S. movies as a basis for its content. Their primary objectives were to promote the learning of English L2 and understanding of American culture. Each content-based class had access to a detailed curriculum guide, which was the outcome of efforts among course developers, course instructors, language institute directors, and others on the teaching staff. Both the literature and film curricula emphasized a range of interactional activities among teachers and students, through class discussion, dialogue journals, student group work, at home projects, and in-class presentation. Grammar lessons were provided as the teachers deemed necessary, both in class, and in feedback on homework assignments.

Six grammar-based class meetings were also studied. Four of the classes were at an intermediate level, and two were at an advanced level. Both held as their primary objective the understanding, application, and development of rules and structures of English grammar. Each class had access to a curriculum guide, developed by curriculum developers in cooperation with teaching staff and program directors, which emphasized interaction among teachers and students, grammar use in meaningful contexts, and homework preparation for class activities.

Participants

There were three content and three grammar teachers, all with professional training and experience relevant to the curriculum they were teaching. Two of the teachers from each of these cohorts had specific training and education in applied linguistics and experience with the curriculum they were teaching. The other two teachers were less experienced, but were considered highly qualified to teach in their respective areas.

The students were at advanced and high intermediate levels of English L2 development. In the literature class, a wide range of Asian and European L1 backgrounds and ethnicities was represented. Students in the film and grammar classes were predominantly of Asian L1 backgrounds and ethnicities. There were 10-15 students per class. This range reflects student absences on the days of data collection. Although students in the program often took both content-based and grammar-based classes simultaneously, students in the film and literature classes had already completed the program by the time the grammar students were recorded.

Results of placement and proficiency tests, as well as reports and observations of teachers and program administrators, revealed an overall level of communicative proficiency for students that was consistent with their classroom placements. Despite their overall level of communicative proficiency, however, the students also revealed grammatical imprecisions and inconsistencies in their expression of reference, modality, and information structure, as seen in their article over- and under-suppliance, inappropriate verb tense and aspect marking, and modal mis-selection. Target-like versions of these grammatical features were not emphasized directly in the content-based curricula, but were widely available in oral and written classroom input.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out through audio and video taping. This was done to insure accurate and detailed transcription. Teachers taught their classes in their usual way and did not know what the focus of this study would be. In the content classes, the dominant activity across classes and teachers was a teacher-directed discussion of literary texts and film. These drew on prior reading assignments, film previewing, and film and text reviewing. Transcripts were made of these discussions. In the grammar-based class the dominant activity which occurred in all classes and with each teacher was the teacher-led sentence construction exercise, often based on homework as well. Both activities were chosen as primary units for data collection and analysis because of their frequency of occurrence, uniformity of interactional structure, and repeated use in the classrooms, as revealed during several months of observational research prior to the study.

As implemented, these activities often comprised half to three-fourths of the each class meeting time, as other portions of class time were used for classroom management, other kinds of activities, and, in the case of the content-based classes, periodic text re-reading or film re-viewing to support opinions and answers. In the grammar classes, other types of activities included teacher explication of structures, students' questions and group work.

The discussion activity focused on exchange of information, opinions and cultural insights into the text or film content. These were chosen at random from a sample of more than thirty such activities, each initiated through framing utterances such as, "I'd like to talk about..." or "Let's go on to...." This framing utterance served as the initial boundary for the activity. The final boundary was marked either by the end of the class meeting or a teacher utterance such as, "OK, let's move on to...."

The sentence construction exercises required student application of specific grammar structures to prompts from the teacher, a worksheet or realia. The purpose of this activity was to create what were considered correct sentences by filling in the blanks in sets of sentence exercises. These activities were identified not only by their design, but also in the ways they were introduced by the teachers through structuring remarks such as "Your assignment for today was to...; Let's go over those; Let me just play a little game for a minute...; So I want to practice..."

Data Coding and Analysis

All data from the discussion and exercise activities were first coded for teacher and student utterances. Random samples of the data were coded by the researcher and trained coders, each with backgrounds in applied linguistics. Inter-coder agreement was at .98 for utterances. These were coded as units of meaning that followed a single intonation contour and were bounded by pauses. In Figure 3, below, each of the examples of negotiation signals in 3a1 illustrates 1 utterance, while the example for 3b3 illustrates 2 utterances. Initially, agreement for features of negative evidence ranged between .80 and .99. Following careful review of the operationalization of terms and combining of related categories that were difficult to distinguish operationally, agreement reached 100%.

The operationalization, coding, and computing of terms were as follows:

1. Learner non-target productions: These were student-produced utterances that contained one or more errors, and did not conform to target like relation-

ships of L2 form, function, and meaning. Computations were made of their frequency and proportion to the total frequency of learner utterances for each type of language activity.

2. Teacher and peer responses that followed learner non-target productions. These were utterances that followed immediately after learner non-target utterances. Computations were made of their frequency and proportion to the total frequency of learner non-target utterances. Types of responses were described above, with examples shown in Figure 1. Operationalized versions are listed and defined in 2a-c, below. Examples, taken from Figure 1, are shown again in Figure 2.

2a. Teacher and peer response utterances that supplied implicit negative evidence through indirect reference to non target form-meaning relationships in the learner utterances that preceded them. Included in this category were the following:

2a1. Negotiation signals: Responses that indicated general difficulty with the clarity, comprehensibility and completeness of a non-target utterance, and/or requested clarification or confirmation thereof. Examples, which appeared respectively as (1a)-(1b), (1c)-(1f), and (1g) in Figure 1, are listed in Figure 2, as (2a1).

2a2. Recasts: Responses that recast a non-target utterance, simultaneously modifying one or more non-target features, but preserving message meaning. Examples appeared as (1h) and (1i) in Figure 1, and are shown in Figure 2 as (2a2).

2b. Teacher and peer response utterances that supplied explicit negative evidence through direct reference to non target form-meaning relationships in the learner utterances that preceded them. Included in this category were utterances that filled the following functions:

2b1. Responses of corrective feedback through a correct version of all or part of a non-target utterance with explicit articulation that the preceding utterance had some imprecision of form or function. An example appeared as (1j) in Figure 1, and is shown in Figure 2, (2b1).

2b2. Responses of rejection or negative evaluation that indicated that a non-target utterance was incorrect or not quite right, or that learner should try again. An example appears as (2b2) in figure 2.

2b3. Responses that supplied metalinguistic information/ explanation, applied for example, to a description and/or explanation for a non-target utterance. Examples appeared as (1k), and (1l) in Figure 1, and are shown in Figure 2 as (2b3).

2c. Other response utterances from teachers and peers, including utterances of back channeling, topic continuation or switch, agreement, and approval. These have been referred to elsewhere as "Ignore error" by Oliver (1995, 2000); however, the present label was chosen to identify the discoursal function of the response.

2d. Learner non-target utterances followed by no response. These have been referred to elsewhere as "No opportunity" for negative evidence by Oliver (1995, 2000).

Figure 2. Coding used in the Study

Learner Non-Target Utterance	Types of Utterances of Response with Negative Evidence	Examples
The class begin at two	2a Implicit Negative Evidence	
	2a1 Negotiation Signals	
	Signal Indicating Lack of Comprehension	I didn't understand What did you say?
	Clarification Seeking Signal	What about the class? What happens at two? What happens at two? It does what at two?
	Confirmation Seeking Signal	The class begin at two?
	2a2 Recast	Ah the class on film begins at two. The class begins at two !!
	2b Explicit Negative Evidence	You need to say that the class begins at two
	2b1 Corrective Feedback Utterance(s)	You need to say that the class begins at two
	2b2. Rejection/Negative Evaluation Utterance(s)	You said that incorrectly
	2b3 Utterances with Suppliance of Metalinguistic Information/Explanation	You need to add -s to begin Class is singular. So you need to make begin agree with it
	2c Other utterances of Response	
	Back Channel	uh huh
	Topic Continuation/ Switch	So what are you doing after class?
	Agreement	Yes, I know that
	Approval	It's kind of you to let me know
The class begin at two	3 No Response	
The class end at four After that I study.		

Results

The teachers varied in the amount of time they spent on any one activity. This was taken into account in reporting results both proportionally, in addition to raw frequency counts. The data revealed that negative evidence was available and accessible in responses to learners' non-target productions during both the discussions and sentence construction exercises, but significantly more so during the latter activity. These results are discussed in detail in the sections that follow

Availability of Negative Evidence

There were many student non-target utterances that were not followed by responses of any kind. In these, the students continued to hold the floor. The proportion of learner non-target utterances which were followed by no response utterance was greater for content-based discussion (45%) than for the sentence construction exercise (5%). Thus, as further shown in Table 1, of the 483 non-target utterances that the students produced during content based discussion, only 268, or 55 percent, were followed by one or more response utterances, whereas 215, or 45 percent, received no response utterances at all. On the other hand, during sentence construction exercises, 206, or 95 percent, of students' non-target utterances were followed by one or more response utterances. These differences were significant (X2 = 108.37, d.f. = 1, p<.05).

As shown in Table 2, negative evidence was available in 79, or 29 percent, of the response utterances to students' non-target productions during content-based discussion. This figure was significantly higher in the sentence construction exercises, where 145, or 70 percent, of response utterances offered negative evidence. (X2 = 79.86, d.f.=1, p< .05). Across the activities, the remaining "other" responses to students' non-target productions did not provide negative evidence, but were encoded as back-channels, acknowledgments to comments, follow-up questions, and topic continuation moves. In other words, many student non-target utterances were followed by responses that did not focus on their errors. Together with the data on "other" responses from Table 1, these findings indicated that the students received a modest amount of negative evidence on their L2 non-target production during content-based discussion and a substantial, consistent amount during grammar based sentence construction.

Table 1. Frequencies and Proportions of Utterances in Response to L2 Learner Non-Target Utterances

	Content-Based Discussion		Sentence Construction Exercises	
	n	% Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances
Learner Non-Target Utterances Followed by One or More Response Utterances	268	55%	206	95%
Learner Non-Target Utterances Followed by No Response Utterances	215	45%	11	5%
Total Learner Non-Target Utterances	483		217	

Table 2. Frequencies and Proportions of Utterances with Negative Evidence in Response to Learners' Non-Target Utterances

	Content-Based Discussion		Sentence Construction Exercises	
	n	% Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	79	29%	145	70%
Other Response Utterances	189	71%	61	30%
Total Response Utterances	268		206	

Accessibility of Negative Evidence

Accessibility of negative evidence was examined in terms of the consistency and explicitness with which it was supplied. These indicators were based on both the theoretical arguments and empirical data noted above. Findings revealed that the patterns of suppliance of negative evidence were essentially the same in the content-based discussion and the grammar based sentence construction, in that negative evidence was supplied more consistently immediately after students' single utterance answers than during their multi utterance contributions.

based discussion to single utterance contributions. These exercises, by design, directed students to provide short answers to sentence starters and prompts. In the discussions, on the other hand, the students were asked to summarize stories, describe characters, and share opinions and ideas. Thus, the sentence construction activity appeared to be much more successful in providing learners access to negative evidence on their errors.

This contrast can be seen in Excerpts (1) and (2) as compared with Excerpt (3), below. The student's response to a teacher question in a sentence construction activity in Excerpt (1) and the student's completion of a teacher elicitation in Excerpt (2), generated immediate, recast responses by the teacher. The teacher's request for a "thumbnail sketch" about the movie *Stand and Deliver* in Excerpt (3) led to fluent and lengthy reflections on the part of the student. The teacher responded with back-channeling, agreement, and approval. In so doing, the teacher's responses focused on message meaning, but overlooked persistent inconsistencies in agreement, tense marking, and noun phrase morphology in the student's contributions. With respect to verb morphology, as highlighted, the student initially self corrected for noun-verb agreement for the verb give, but then produced errors of agreement and tense consistency for the rest of his text.

Excerpt 1

Teacher	**Student**
	ah, I wrote it
you read it?	the title in Polish is different

(Sentence construction exercise)

Excerpt 2

Teacher	**Student**
there's another conflict in the mother. Something else is- the mother is thinking a lot about	go back China
going back to China is one thing	

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 3

Teacher	**Student**
give me a thumbnail— give me a thumbnail sketch	
	the second one is, eh, the teacher give him, gives him enough time and encouraged him like Patricia said, the teacher give him enough uh
aah uh-huh, uh-huh	

ah	space to let him to feel he can do good that's the most important two points for him and also he pay more attention to uh I mean the teacher pay more attention to Angel—he's one of a closest students of him and he he, the teacher prevents the fighting between Angel and other students that xxx
yeah yeah	teacher if they would ask question he would give ninety nine percent point
yeah yeah, that's right that's right	

(Content-based discussion)

As shown in Table 3, response utterances of negative evidence were much more likely to be used when learner non-target utterances occurred in single, independent contributions of learners. Thus, in the sentence construction exercises, which by design, sought students' production of single utterance sentence completions, 89 percent of the responses of negative evidence occurred in relation to single independent utterance contributions of the students.

During the content-based discussions, 66 percent of responses with negative evidence occurred when learners made single utterance contributions. Only 18 percent of such responses occurred in the middle of a student contribution of two or more utterances, and only 16 percent occurred at the end of a student contribution of two or more utterances. Similar patterns were found for the sentence construction exercises, but were highly linked with the predominance of independent utterances in the data on this activity.

Table 3. Frequencies and Proportions of Response Utterances with Negative Evidence to Learner Non-Target Utterances in Relation to Discourse Context

	Content-Based Discussion		Sentence Construction Exercises	
Context of Learner Non-Target Utterance	n Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	n Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence
Independent Utterance	52	66%	129	89%
Text Initial/Medial Utterance	14	18%	9	6%
Text Final Utterance	13	16%	7	5%
Totals	79		145	

In contrast, and as illustrated in bold, in Excerpt 4, the response to a student's meaningful, but grammatically non-target-like, text in the content-based class was more typically a topic related move than a message that offered negative evidence. Again, such moves tended to promote the student's fluency and message modification rather than draw the student's attention to the many agreement imprecisions in her contribution.

Excerpt 4

Teacher	**Student**
	the daughter have a pretty good but she also hope to get married but she think about her mother. so they are worried each other you know so they pretend they think they really have a good life
mm-hmm	at that time
mm—hmm	but when the her mother go to China back and her mother change change his un thinking and being and then uh her daughter think that then she can get married and her mother can independ on others
really? I had a very different point of view	

(Content-based discussion)

Just as the discourse which extended across utterances revealed a pattern in responses with negative evidence, a pattern was also evident within utterances. Within content-based discussion there was a tendency toward more frequent suppliance of negative evidence in responses that followed learner utterances with only one non-target feature compared to those with two or more non-target features. As shown in Table 4, of the 79 total response utterances with negative evidence to learners' non-target productions, 61 percent were provided to utterances which had one non-target feature, and 39 percent were provided to utterances of two or more non-target features. This difference was significant (X2 = 34.60, d.f. = 1, p<.05.), and was reminiscent of Oliver (1995), who found that found differences in responses to learner utterances that contained only one error, but utterances of negotiation of meaning to those with more than one. In her findings, however, the differences were qualitative, with recasts the favored response to utterances with one error, and negotiation to multi-error utterances. Here the differences were quantitative, such that responses of negative evidence were given to single and multiple error utterances, but more responses were given to the former.

Table 4. Frequencies and Proportions of Response Utterances with Negative Evidence in Relation to Non-Target Features in Learner Utterances in Content-Based Discussions

	Learner Non-Target Utterances with 1 Non-Target Feature		Learner Non-Target Utterances with 2+ Non-Target Features	
	n	%	n	%
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	48	61%	31	39%
Other Response Utterances	124	66%	65	34%
Total Response Utterances	172	64%	96	36%

The data revealed that negative evidence was available and accessible in responses to learners' non-target productions during both the discussions and sentence construction exercises, but significantly more so during the latter activity. For both activities, however, negative evidence was supplied more consistently in response to students' single, than multi- utterance contributions. Implicit, teacher-generated encoding of negative evidence prevailed in both types of activities. These findings are further described and analyzed below.

Encoding of Negative Evidence: Implicitness vs. Explicitness

Table 5 provides a breakdown of findings on implicit and explicit negative evidence provided in response to students' non-target L2 productions and content inaccuracies. This distinction was examined as another indicator of accessibility in light of the findings of Lyster & Ranta (1997) that learners were more likely to notice feedback when it was encoded explicitly.

Across both activities, there was also a far greater proportion of implicit to explicit negative evidence. As shown in Table 5, 86 percent of discussion response utterances with negative evidence were implicit in their encodings, as were 81 percent of the sentence construction responses. No significant difference was found in the in the two types of activities. (X2 = .78, df = 1, p> .05). Implicit negative evidence was the predominant way to encode responses to learner errors.

Table 5. Frequencies and Proportions of Response Utterances with Implicit and Explicit Negative Evidence

	Content Based Instruction		Sentence Construction Exercises	
	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence
Non-Target L2 Productions				
Response Utterances with Implicit Negative Evidence	68	86%	118	81%
Response Utterances with Explicit Negative Evidence	11	14%	27	19%
Total Response Utterances with Implicit & Explicit Negative Evidence	79	35%	145	65%

Implicit negative evidence was supplied primarily through signals of lack of comprehension and confirmation seeking signals. This is illustrated in italics in excerpts (5) and (6), below:

Excerpt 5

Teacher	**Student**
What do you think about this story? Is there anything interesting for you?	Yes. I want to tell something... I think uh in this club in the playing clubs reflects uh human life is a because
ok I didn't quite understand the what, the plain clothes?	playing club, club, club
club?	Yeah
club?	in this club
OK	

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 6

Teacher	**Student**
	my mansion is more (concrete) than the horse
huh? Complete?	

(Sentence construction exercise)

Recasts were found as responses to learner errors in both types of activities, as shown in italics in excerpts (7) through (9) below. Although two thirds of the recasts in the discussion were used as responses to learners' imprecisions, overall they constituted a small proportion of the response data. Across the six discussions, for example, only eight recasts were used in response to learners' imprecisions and four recasts were used in response to target productions.

Most of the recasts included repetition or segmentation of student utterances. For example, in (8) and (9) the teacher segments "phase of life" and "expensive," then recasts them with the grammatical features consistent with the student's target. Excerpt (7), however, is recast as an expansion that comments on the student's message, as the teacher embeds the student's utterance in a complex clause. Such an expansion of form also expanded the functional role of this utterance, thereby limiting its transparency and accessibility as negative evidence.

Excerpt 7

Teacher	**Student**
	tells him your mother back soon
OK, yeah. he tells him that, uh, his mother will be back soon	

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 8

Teacher	**Student**
	it seems to me like the story about the phase of life or
mm-hm. it could be in – Phases of Life.	

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 9

Teacher	**Student**
	my mansion is expensive...than your camera
more expensive	

(Sentence construction exercise)

Explicit negative evidence, supplied through corrective feedback, explicit rejection, negative evaluation, and metalinguistic information is shown in italics in excerpts (10) and (11), as the teacher provides information about correct L2 use, more transparently so, however, in Excerpt (11).

Excerpt 10

Teacher	**Student**
wh-wh-that's the right	
meaningbut what's the	
right word? anybody	
know?	the something was too slow
and its re eh?	(process)
it starts with P that's good	
we're getting there	
yeah one that equals 'steps.'	
anybody?	to talk about the point? point
no, huh-uh	pace
got it? *OK*	yes

(Content-based discussion)

Excerpt 11

Teacher	**Student**
	report
reported on, or you could	
have since it's recent, has	
reported	

(Sentence construction exercise)

Finally, the sentence construction exercises also revealed a distinctive utterance response of re-elicitation, which was not found during content discussion, whereby students were given prompts to encourage reformulation of their messages. The prompt consisted of the teacher repeating the beginning part of the utterance just made by the learner. In all cases, the learners understood that they had to repeat and reformulate their previous utterance. Twelve such responses were found in the data. Although this type of response had not been anticipated as a coding category the original framework for the study, it appeared to serve as an implicit form of negative evidence, and was coded as such. An example from the data is shown in excerpt (12) below:

Excerpt 12

Teacher	**Student**
	what did he wrote?
>what did he...	write
	what, what wrote Cervantes?
>what	what did Cervantes write?

(Sentence construction exercise)

Teachers and Peers as Sources of Access to Negative Evidence:

As revealed in Table 6, negative evidence to students' non-target productions was provided in a far greater amount from teachers than peers. During the content-based discussion, teachers supplied 78 of the 79 response utterances with negative evidence (99%), and 87 percent of such utterances during sentence construction exercises. The pattern of teacher dominance held for all "other" responses to students' non-target productions as well. As shown in Table 5, peer responses were more apparent in this category, constituting 12 percent of the total responses in the content-based discussions and 7 percent in the sentence construction exercises. Thus, in both types of activities, peers responded to their classmates' non-target utterances, but did not supply much negative evidence when they did so.

Table 6. Frequencies and Proportions of Teacher and Peer Response Utterances to Student Non-target Utterances

	Content Based Instruction			Sentence Construction Exercises		
	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Total Response Utterances	n	% Response Utterances with Negative Evidence	% Total Response Utterances
Response Utterances with Negative Evidence						
Teacher	78	99%	30%	124	87%	61%
Peer	1	1%	0%	21	13%	10%
Other Response Utterances with backchannel or topic acceptance, continuation or switch						
Teacher	157		59%	46		22%
Peer	32		12%	15		7%
Total Response Utterances	268		100%	206		100%
Teacher	235		88%	170		82%
Peer	33		12%	36		18%

These results appear to be related to the teacher-directed design and implementation of both activities of the study. They also suggest that peers may not have perceived themselves as helpful or necessary as a source of negative evidence for the two activities. In open-ended discussions, there is great latitude and redundancy in what needs to be said or understood. Transmission of negative evidence on formal inconsistencies is required only insofar as it interferes with message meaning. Given the level of preparation and familiarity of the students with film and text content prior to their discussion, it is likely that only with respect to content itself would they seek clarification. The students who participated in the sentence construction might have believed that the kinds of formal precision required were best monitored by the their teachers' knowledge and training rather than their own evolving proficiency in this area.

Summary and Implications

The questions and concerns of this study are situated within a long standing line of research on input to learners as a source of linguistic data for L2 learning. Most of this research has been centered on the ways in which input can be modified to promote message comprehensibility and provide positive evidence of L2 forms and features. In recent years, research has also considered ways in which interlocutor responses can serve as data source. Of interest have been responses that draw learners' attention to their errors, and provide negative evidence of inconsistencies between error forms and features in their production and target versions in the L2. Experimental, conversational, and classroom contexts have revealed a variety of possible encodings, ranging from explicit expressions of evaluation and correction to implicit feedback through recasts, clarification requests, and confirmation checks.

In light of the diversity of contexts in which negative evidence has been shown to occur, and the variety of ways in which it can be encoded, the present study compared its availability and accessibility in two types of activities: a teacher-led discussion of subject matter content, and a sentence construction exercise. Results of the study revealed that negative evidence was available and accessible in both types of activities, but significantly more so during the sentence construction exercises than the content-based discussion.

During content-based discussion, less than a third of the responses offered negative evidence. Instead, many student contributions, though filled with grammatical imprecisions received responses of back-channeling, agreement, and acknowledgment as to their content appropriateness rather than formal errors. Nearly fifty percent were not given any response at all. In contrast, over two thirds of the responses to students in the sentence construction exercises contained negative evidence, and only six percent did not receive a response.

Despite these differences in the extent to which negative evidence was available and accessible, however, three similarities were found in both activities. First, most of the negative evidence was provided after learner mis-productions that were one utterance long. Secondly, negative evidence was offered more often in teacher, rather than peer, responses. Third, when negative evidence was given in responses, it was predominantly implicit. These consistencies suggest that it is possible for learners to access negative evidence across content-based and grammar-based activities, whether the activities are as open-ended as discussion or close ended as sentence construction, are designed to generate lengthy opinions, or require specific answers.

The activities, themselves, however, posed concerns with respect to their restrictions on response data to students and their input and production needs. First, based on the number of sustained, non-target productions that went un-addressed during the discussions, it is troubling that there were so many mis-productions that were followed by back-channeling, acknowledgment, or agreement, or no response at all. Additionally problematic was that the predominant context for suppliance of negative evidence in both activities was the limited, utterance-level production of the students. The activities, as implemented, appeared to restrict responses with negative evidence for the sake of students' output or limit their production of output for the sake of responses to them.

These observations suggested ways in which the activities might be modified or augmented to help students notice their errors and modify their subsequent output. One way to do this would be for teachers to respond to students' imprecisions with implicit and negotiation generating negative evidence throughout their lengthy text productions, as a way of encouraging the students to speak, but letting them know they were not precise.

It might be possible, for example, to supplement or substitute the back-channeling, acknowledgment, and other responses found in the background of the lengthy texts of Excerpts (3) and (4) with moves which supply negative evidence through form focusing recasts, as suggested by Doughty & Varela (1998), or through the negotiation of form, as suggested by Lyster & Ranta (1997). In (3a) and (4a), repeated from excerpts (3) and (4), the teachers fully understood the students, but the places where there were back-channels and comments might be used as insertion points for responses of negative evidence, here encoded as recasts and clarification requests, in bold.

Example (3a)

Teacher	**Student**
give me a thumbnail—	
give me a thumbnail sketch	

	the second one is, eh, the teacher give him, gives him enough time and encouraged him like Patricia said, the teacher give him enough uh
aah uh-huh, uh-huh ah **yes she gave him enough what?**	space to let him to feel he can do good that's the most important two points for him and also he pay more attention to uh I mean the teacher pay more attention to Angel—he's one of a closest students of him and he he, the teacher prevents the fighting between Angel and other students that xxx
yeah yeah **he was one of the closest students to him**	teacher if they would ask question he would give ninety nine percent point
yeah yeah, that's right that's right **if they would ask questions he would give ninety nine points**	

(Content-based discussion)

Example (4a)

Teacher	**Student**
	the daughter have a pretty good but she also hope to get married but she think about her mother. So they are worried each other you know so they pretend they think they really have a good life
mm-hmm **they are worried each other? What do you mean?**	at that time

(Content-based discussion)

Similarly, during sentence construction, it might be possible to encourage text production in an area of prior imprecision, including additional negative evidence moves as follow up. Excerpt (1) is repeated, but in bold.

Example (1a)

Teacher	**Student**
	ah, I wrote it
you read it? **Tell me about it. Can you give me a thumbnail sketch?**	the title in Polish is different.

(Sentence construction exercise)

In addition to introducing responses of negotiation of form, another possibility would be to employ activities that require precision of form and content, unlike discussion, which does not require such formal accuracy to succeed. Closed, information exchange tasks are especially conducive to this outcome (see Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun 1993).

For example, students might be asked to reconstruct an excerpt from a plot summary by pooling individual sentences and placing them in order of occurrence, in jig-saw or strip story format. Or they might be asked to participate in a dictogloss task, taking notes on the plot summary, then using the notes to collaborate in reconstructing the original summary. As other research has shown, during their collaboration, there is a possibility that they will be given responses of negative evidence when they have failed to indicate distinctions in time, through mis-selection of verb inflections or mis-application of grammatical rules (see again, Swain 1995; Pica, Billmyer, Julian, Blake-Ward, Bucchheit, Nicolary, & Sullivan 2001).

Because the sentence construction activity generated a good deal of negative evidence in response to student imprecisions, but did so with brief portions of sentences and invited little sustained speech on the students' parts, it must also be modified when it is used to promote these important dimensions of L2 learning. Making such exercises less teacher-led and more peer collaborative as well as requiring students to justify their answers to each other in small groups and to their class as a whole, might help students to notice grammatical imprecisions and inconsistencies, and discuss them metalinguistically. The task designs of Loschky & Bley-Vroman (1990) reflect this need.

Results of the present study remind us of the important role of activity in generating the kinds of input needed for L2 learning. The two activity types of the study, discussion and sentence construction, are common practices in so many classrooms, not only those of the current study. Although not always embraced wholeheartedly for their role in assisting L2 learning, the activities remain common classroom staples. Indeed they have much to offer both learner and teacher with respect to classroom communication, preparation, and management, and with these few suggested enhancements, might be even more beneficial for L2 learners as they cope with their errors. As students' need for negative evidence on their imprecisions becomes recognized as a process critical to their L2 learning, modification of existing materials and adjustment of classroom practice will become increasingly necessary. The findings of the present study, it is hoped, can be of help in that regard.

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Teresa Pica is a Professor in the Language in Education Division. She holds an M.A. in Speech Pathology from Columbia University Teachers College and a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests in second language and foreign language acquisition have focused on social interaction between language learners and native speakers and the role of instruction in the acquisition process.

Gay N. Washburn is assistant professor in the department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics at Syracuse University. She teaches graduate courses in TESOL methodology and English as a second language for ITAs. Research interests include performance on short-term learning tasks by long term learners, pragmatic language use in television sitcoms, and suppliance and use of negative evidence in classroom settings.

Reassessing Parent Involvement: Involving Language Minority Parents in School Work at Home

Kimberly Daniel-White

University of Pennsylvania

Parental involvement has been promoted by politicians and educators alike as the panacea to cure academic ills in the American educational system. Programs have been funded and structured to involve all parents in schools in ways valued by middle class parents to the exclusion of language minority families, their language, and their culture. These middle class based programs, which I argue are founded upon a cultural deficit approach to parenting, do not provide Latino and other immigrant families with the tools they need to help their children and empower themselves. This paper describes an ethnographic investigation of home based parent involvement as seen through the experience of a Costa Rican family in an African-American community in the northeastern United States. Using interviews, fieldnotes, and documents, this paper will detail a specific parental involvement effort initiated in a Latino home through a minigrant offered by the school district. Citing literature from research on the use of funds of knowledge in school and the analysis of social contextual features in approaching the education of minorities, I will analyze the parental involvement effort and suggest changes in the ways future parental involvement efforts view parents and involvement.

Generally schools have attempted to educate immigrant and language minority children in ways identical to majority children, assuming that they should accept the values of the American educational system without question and leave their past at the mythical golden door protected by the Statue of Liberty. As a result of these assumptions schools, on the whole, have been unsuccessful in improving the academic achievement of minority children. These children and their families at times have been ignored and called upon to participate in a system that does not promote or encourage their own family values. The children of these homes are often shuttled into English classes to Americanize them as soon as possible and the parents are silenced by the walls of an English bureaucracy that assumes they do not know how to support their children's education in appropriate ways (Auerbach 1989; Valdés 1996).

The silencing of immigrant and language minority families occurs at the level of the school administration as well as the classroom. Minority children are expected to learn English without question and without help. What happens in many instances is that there is more "not learning" than "learning" (Valdés 2001) occurring in the classrooms and the families are blamed for the lack of achievement of their children. Educators and politicians implicate the parents of these children as not being "involved" in the education of their children, in order to take the blame off of a system which fails thousands of children. This accusation takes the weight of teaching off the schools and lays it squarely on the shoulders of parents (Auerbach 1989) who are locked out of the educational system by their lack of knowledge of the dominate language—English.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how the traditional majority culture based model of parental involvement views language minority parents with regard to their participation in the education of their children. I will look at the following questions: How do traditional models of parental involvement engage language minority parents in school activities in the home? What are the basic assumptions concerning what minority parents need to know or need to do in order to be involved in the education of their children? How can a model of parental involvement help all parents be involved in ways that promote their ways of raising their children and their home culture and prepare their children for schooling? What issues are most important in proposing any model of home based parental involvement for immigrant and language minority parents?

This paper describes the implementation of a small home-based parental involvement program in an elementary school in a large northeastern city where only English classes are offered to language minority children and little assistance is offered to the families of these children. The involvement patterns of a Costa Rican family are used as an example of the results of the parental involvement effort. Using ethnographic data including interviews, research field notes, and documents, I will attempt to answer the questions posed above.

Traditional Home-Based Parental Involvement and Language Minority Parents

Historically, models of parental involvement have considered a very narrow definition of what it means to be involved in schools in the context of the home. When educators and politicians proclaim that parents need to be more involved in the education of their children they are referring to a model of parent involvement based upon the assumption that parents need to do more school like activities in the home (Auerbach 1989; Gonzalez, Moll, Tenery, Rivera, Rendon, Gonzales, and Amanti 1995). They believe that the best way for parents to show interest in their children's education is to read to their children (Lareau 2000), help their children with their homework (Kralovec & Buell 2000; Torres-Guzmán 1991), buy educational materials to use at home (Nieto 1985), teach children their ABCs (Valdés 1996), and other school literacy related activities.

Parents are thus called upon to take on the role of being their children's teacher at home. This parent-as-teacher paradigm has been described as one of the most important roles of parents in the education of their children (Ada 1988; Nieto 1985). This paradigm positions parents as their children's first teacher and entails the responsibility of buying and using books, flashcards, and other educational materials to teach their children basic literacy skills. When parents do not adhere to the role of their children's first "teacher", they are seen as negligent and uncaring by the schools their children attend (Nieto 1985; Torres-Guzmán 1991; Valdés 1996). To rectify the problem of parents who do not adhere to the role of teacher, schools as well as government agencies (like Head Start) often implement programs which require mandatory parental involvement and parent education to teach parents how they should interact with their children. These programs take a cultural deficit approach to minority and language minority parenting. They see parents as entities that need to be fixed for the benefit of their children. Thus, parents' own interactional patterns are not valued, and they are taught to interact with their children in ways which are not valued by their home cultures.

Cultural deficit theory has been used to explain one of many possible stances taken toward diversity in education. This theory, proposed after genetic explanations for minority school failure were rejected, blames environmental factors as the cause of minority failure in schools. Jacob and Jordan (1996) explicitly examine the assumptions of cultural deficit theory with regard to minority family environments. They state that cultural deficit theory focuses on the home environment of minority children. Followers of cultural deficit explanations for minority failure assert that minority home environments do not provide sufficient intellectual stimulation for normal development of their children. Rampton, Harris and Leung (1997) provide a rubric which explains four different approaches toward diversity in education of which diversity as deficit is only one orientation.[1] For the purpose of this paper, I will only explain the cultural deficit orientation. This orientation, as he proposes, has its own specific views of culture, approach to language, views of research, descriptive concerns/focus, philosophical emphasis, assumptions about the world, intervention strategy and typical politics. This view is highly prescriptive and accepts only the majority norm as valuable. Its proponents advocate the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority populations to the majority norms. Majority norms are positioned as neutral, objective, and standard.

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[1] Rampton et al. (1997) include four different orientations towards diversity: diversity as deficit; diversity as differerence; not diversity, domination; and domination and diversity as discourse.

Problems with this paradigm

There are many problems with the current paradigm of home parental involvement efforts especially with regard to how it deals with the parental involvement of language minority families. In this section, I will discuss some problems with the traditional parental involvement paradigm including ways in which these programs decontextualize the involvement of different groups, devalue the home knowledge of minority groups, ignore cultural differences in raising children, and assume knowledge of the U.S. educational system.

Current home parental involvement models decontextualize the involvement efforts of minority parents (Torres-Guzmán 1991; Gonzalez et al. 1995). Using the model of parent-as-teacher, educators assume that all parents have the same abilities and knowledge concerning the school and the educational system in general rather than looking at the context of the student's household (Gonzalez et al. 1995). For example, whether the parents share the language of the school or even have formal education in the U.S. is ignored. Schools assume that it is the parents' responsibility to meet the school's demands without giving parents adequate tools to do so and without adapting efforts to meet parental needs.

Language minority parents are most often locked out of participation in school due to language differences. Due to limited proficiency in English, they can not always help their children with their homework but they can and do take an active role as monitors of their children's homework (Delgado-Gaitan 1990). This role is not explicitly acknowledged by schools because it does not specifically entail getting the homework assignment done correctly. Peña (1998) in a study of a dual language program, found that parents were not encouraged by the school, and parents felt that the knowledge they possessed was not valued by the school. A parent complained that "they [school personnel] don't even know that learning can happen in other places outside of the school" (114). From the parent's perspective, this implies that the schools do not utilize the knowledge and language the families have in order to educate their children; they just assume that the knowledge schools' possess is the best knowledge and only knowledge children should learn.

The assumption teachers make that all parents have the same educational level also contributes to parents failing to help their children with their homework. In the beginning of their children's education, language minority parents may have enough English proficiency to help their children with basic reading and math assignments but when their children get into higher grades they often can not help their children complete assignments (Delgado-Gaitan 2001). As their children learn more and more English, these parents begin to feel distanced from their Americanized children and can feel as if they live with strangers. Children in these homes often use their increased fluency in English to communicate with their other siblings in English and this positions them further and further away from their parents.

The model of parent-as-teacher also fails to address cultural differences in raising children (i.e. differences in parent-child interactions and differences in the role of the parent at home) and implicitly labels minority cultures as deficient. Linguistically based cultural differences in child raising practices of minority groups have been noted in the literature (Heath 1983; Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez 1994). Much of this literature explicitly describes differences between language use in the homes of language minority children and the language use in the schools that they eventually attend. This literature also describes differences in how language minority parents interact with children at home.

Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez (1994) give explicit examples of how some language minority children are socialized to use language at home. These investigators show how these socialization practices are often in direct conflict with the ways schools want parents to interact with their children at home. They state that:

> Language use practices that originate in the school can also contribute to problems at home. In some cases, conflicts arise between parents and children over the values they feel are conveyed by language use practices that their children bring from the school into the home. For example Eastside parents disapprove of teachers who emphasize the individual rights of students over the collective rights of the family. From their vantage point, the critical discussion of family matters by children and teachers at school represents a threat to the family structure and parents' authority. They worry that teachers will encourage their children to reveal information that may threaten their family's security. (93)

Thus, schools want language minority children to share information that their parents do not want shared. Schools attempt to resocialize language minority children in ways which are promoted in majority middle class families and stigmatize the ways their parents socialize them.

Heath (1983) also shows how the ways that language minority families[2] interact with print are different from the ways that majority families interact with print. When looking at the differences between the white families of Roadville and the African-American families in Trackton, she observes that:

> Roadville family members consciously collect reading materials from themselves and for their children; they often talk about how they are going to learn how to do something by reading...Trackton residents have no such accumulation of reading materials; whatever comes into the community is usually either read, then burned or used for other purposes, or immediately discarded. There is no space or time assigned for reading; its occurrences follow the flow of daily social interactions...(232)

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[2] In this case African American families are considered a language minority. They are considered a language minority because they do not share the linguistic socialization of majority middle class white families and because they use a dialect of English which is not accepted by schools as standard.

These communities place different value on print and the role it plays in their lives. Heath also describes differences in how parents talk to children from a very young age. Trackton parents tended not to talk to babies who could not talk fluently, while Roadville parents tended to talk to children in ways they would talk to adults even when the children could not talk or understand them. These differences, as exhibited by the Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez (1994) and Heath (1983) studies, are often used as more fuel against minority parents and their ways of raising children, rather than as cultural resources valued by the families and potentially valuable to schools.

In addition to the above problems with the parent-as-teacher paradigm, there is a supposition that parents know the U.S. schooling system. There is an implicit assumption that parents understand and can fulfill the expectations of their children's teachers. This is a faulty assumption because often language minority parents do not recognize what is expected of them in the American educational system (Valdés 1996). This is even so when the parents have attended school in the U.S. Immigrants and other minorities do not know that the schools want their children to know their ABCs before they enter school and they do not see this knowledge as part of what it means to be involved in their children's education. Valdés (1996) states that with the Mexican parents she investigated "the problem was that none of them were familiar with notions and views of success and achievement in American terms. They had no way of knowing that their own ideas and beliefs about what children should want and what families should help them achieve were very different from those held by mainstream persons in this country" (173).

The problems with traditional notions of home parental involvement discussed above make it important to propose alternative ways of involving language minority parents in homework and home activities which celebrate these families, take into consideration minority parenting styles, respect the linguistic socialization children receive at home, and contextualize involvement in ways that consider individual family characteristics, rather than prescribing one-size-fits-all activities that all parents should employ at home.

Proposing a Model of Home-Based Language Minority Parental Involvement

There has been an increasing amount of research into parental involvement in language minority families during the past fifteen years. A number of researchers have described what involvement efforts occur in language minority families and how schools attempt to meet the needs of these families (Delgado-Gaitan 1990; López, Scribner & Mahitivanichcha 2001; Valdés 1996). Researchers have proposed ways of helping language minority parents and their children, but the majority of the parental involvement programs are based on a cultural deficit model of parenting that calls for transforming families in ways that destroy and devalue their culture. In this section, I will discuss how parental involvement programs can been seen as promoting a cultural deficit model of parenting. Then I will show how the funds of knowledge paradigm and social-contextual models proposed by Auerbach (1989) and Gonzalez et al. (1995) respectively are viable alternatives to the cultural deficit model. Afterward I will explain several important characteristics of the funds of knowledge paradigm and social-contextual models which should be considered in proposing home based language minority parental involvement programs that will help both parents and children.

In opposition to the cultural deficit orientation, researchers have given suggestions for family literacy that provide insights into the ways schools can be more culturally responsive to language minority families. Auerbach (1989) and Gonzalez et al. (1995), in particular, suggest alternative ways that schools can see and interact with families that can provide more contextualized and less demeaning interactions between schools and families. Through the social-contextual approach to family literacy and the funds of knowledge paradigms, educators can empower parents and children in their home activities rather than making them feel inferior and worthless.

As discussed above, many contextual factors which influence parents' abilities to help children with homework are not considered in traditional models of parental involvement. Auerbach (1989) describes the socio-contextual approach to family literacy as a model which examines the lives of families and provides literacy activities that are congruent with the literacy needs and goals of families. She suggests that family literacy programs should investigate home language use in order to build effective literacy programs. She states that "if educators define family literacy more broadly to include a range of activities and practices that are integrated into the fabric of daily life, the social context becomes a rich resource that can inform rather than impede learning" (166). This is also important to parental involvement. Without specific knowledge of home language use it is futile to require parents to help children with assignments. Also this calls for a contextualization of activities which are sent home. Rather than assuming that school knowledge is the only knowledge, when teachers know what types of language is used in their students' homes they can make more effective activities which both parents and students can be involved in.

The funds of knowledge research paradigm has many characteristics which are similar to those of the socio-contextual approach to literacy. Gonzalez et al. (1995) state that "funds of knowledge refers to those historically developed and accumulated strategies (skills, abilities, ideas, practices) or bodies of knowledge that are essential to a household's functioning and well-being" (447). Both paradigms, rather than making a broad assumption that the only valuable knowledge is obtained through schools, attempt to examine the context of the home as a potential resource that can be utilized in school literacy efforts. Literacy is envisioned not in the cultural deficit manner as a unitary construct composed of skills learned in schools, but as a dynamic construct that is dependent upon the context of the homes and families of children as well as schools. This is not to say that it is not important to teach the types of literacy learned in schools but it does support a broader definition of literacy which includes the home context (i.e. language used at home, activities around literacy initiated at home) as important to literacy.

When using the above methods to examine parental involvement programs one can see that more attention needs to be paid to linguistic differences and programs need to provide multilingual support through translated materials, and bilingual advisors. One complaint language minority parents have concerning monolingual parental involvement efforts is that the language of choice is English. Even when letters, notes, and other parental involvement oriented literatures are sent home, they are in English. Parents with little or no English skills have to look to other family members and often their own children (Auerbach 1989) to translate materials.

Taking into consideration the educational level of parents involved in schools is also important. Many assignments sent home with children are decontextualized and require parents to have a high level of formal education in order to help their children. Auerbach (1989) suggests that family literacy programs help parents develop their own literacy which will in turn contribute to family literacy. This idea also applies to helping children at home. If parental involvement programs offer parents support and information concerning how they can improve their own level of education, they in turn can help their children.

Traditional parental involvement programs often ignore the knowledge that language minority parents possess. They focus on the skills the schools want the children to learn rather than including knowledge that is valuable to non-majority cultures and families. Gonzalez et al. (1995), Valdéz (1996) and others emphasize the importance of family knowledge to educating language minority children. Through looking at funds of knowledge in language minority homes, teachers conduct investigations in the homes of their own students looking at how the families survive and the types of knowledge and skills needed to function in these households.

Auerbach (1995) and Valdés (1996) emphasize that teachers need to consider child rearing practices of minority families. A program considering the child rearing practices of language minority families would not be quick to prescribe changes in the ways children and parents interact in these homes. There would be care taken to provide homework assignments which would foster parents' own ways of raising their children and provide interactions which would not only mirror those of middle class families. Parents thus could feel less threatened by schools and the education that American schools give their children.

Heath (1983) and Gonzalez et al. (1995) both promote the practice of assessing the use of print in the homes of their research participants. This information is helpful in that it aids teachers in assessing the resources children have at home to increase their literacy. Using knowledge about home sources of print will allow teachers to take advantage of the ways print is used at home in order to make homework assignments that parents can truly be involved with and are familiar with already.

Thus, as shown above, the problems with traditional parental involvement programs can be remedied with an openness to changing the way parental involvement programs operate. By contextualizing involvement, addressing language issues, making appropriate home-friendly assignments, valuing parent knowledge, acknowledging child raising differences, and assessing home use of print, traditional parental involvement paradigms can shift toward a more inclusive future. Reassessing the values inherent in parental involvement attempts and implementing parental involvement that is unique to the families concerned can help to include language minority parents in school-initiated activities at home.

Lessons from the Lopez[3] Family

This section will discuss the implementation of a parental involvement program through a case study of the Lopez family, a Costa Rican immigrant family that lives in a large northeastern city. The purpose of this section is to describe how the parents in the family were involved in home-based activities with their children, as well as to illustrate what can occur when parental involvement efforts are guided by a cultural deficit theory of parental involvement. Current models of parental involvement do not examine the implications of their theoretical stance on how parents are involved, perceived, and empowered (or disempowered). This investigation critically examines what happened in a parent involvement mini-grant in order to look at the effects of a deficit model program from the grant writing process to the implementation of the grant. In the conclusion, I will suggest how changing from deficit model programs starting at the grant writing process would have the effect of empowering families.

Background Information

This research started not as an investigation but as a job opportunity. I accepted a part-time position as a bilingual tutor at a predominately African-American monolingual elementary school in a large city in the northeastern United States. I was hired to translate for Spanish speaking students at the school and to teach them basic literacy skills. The teacher pointed out Carlos, a seven-year-old second grade student, as the child who needed the most help.

Carlos had arrived in the United States mid-year from Costa Rica. He was in the first grade in Costa Rica but because of his age he was placed in the second grade in a monolingual English-speaking class where he received two to four hours a day of one-on-one English assistance outside his normal classroom. He entered the school with no oral or written proficiency in English and no ability to read or write in Spanish. Carlos was having difficulty learning to read in English and he needed to learn the alphabet as well as basic sight words. The ESOL teacher showed me his performance on a sight word test of approximately 75 words and Carlos was only able to identify three words for the first grade level. As a result of his reading difficulties he failed the second grade and remained in the second grade class during the second year I worked at the school.

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[3] All names have been changed in order to preserve confidentiality

Carlos' family, like most immigrant families, moved to the United States in order to have a better life and standard of living than they could have in Costa Rica. His mother, Esperanza, came from a poor family which farmed to make a living. She recalls having to leave school in the fourth grade in order to help the family farm so they could increase their income. Her husband was from a family that was better off financially than her own, and her husband was able to complete the twelfth grade in Costa Rica. They received money from her husband's family to move to the United States.

About three months after I began to work with Carlos, I went to his home to offer his mother English classes as well as to get her signature for a parental involvement mini-grant offered by the school district in order to "involve" the parents of Title I[4] students in their children's education. The mini-grant and accompanying parent involvement activities will be the main foci of this paper.

Parental Involvement Mini-Grant

The parental involvement grant was a natural outgrowth of my interest in working with Latino parents and children. I felt that involving parents in their children's education would provide parents with a voice and children with higher academic achievement in school. I became involved in the parental involvement grant writing process with the encouragement of the ESOL coordinator who had hired me as a tutor. She encouraged me to apply for the grant because she did not have time to apply for the grant, and she knew I was interested in getting the parents of her Latino students involved at the elementary school. The parental involvement grant writing process was a matter of filling in blanks on a form provided by the school district. They also gave suggestions for the types of activities to be included in the grant and provided a sample grant application. This section will describe the grant proposal detailing the suggestions from the grant proposal as well as the suggestions for evaluations of the grant outcomes.

The application for the parental involvement grant for Title I students provides a good example of the underlying theoretical stance of the school district with regard to parental involvement as well as how parents are perceived by schools. From the beginning the Title I Parental Involvement Mini-Grant seems to be open to creativity in parental involvement activities. The cover letter stresses that "schools should propose unique activities that will engage parents and support student achievement." This seemsto be an open and inclusive grant that will embrace creativity and multiple parental involvement theoretical stances, but when the actual grant is completed it is apparent that the grant promotes only the traditional model of parental involvement.

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[4] The US federal governement provides financial assistance to schools that have large numbers of poor and minority children through Title I grants. The schools are identified as needingextra educational expense by the economic status of their students' families.

The page entitled "Directions for Completing Applications" calls for the development of a grant by a team. This is ironic because the grant is for such a small amount of money ($500) that one person could spend the money on four or five parents in a very short time. They call for the involvement of a Title I teacher, a classroom teacher, and a parent of a Title I student in completing the grant application.

The grant also calls for "*activities* that will be undertaken *to help parents of Title I students to assist their child(ren) in the development of specific basic and advanced skills.*"[5] This phrase has undertones of deficit theory because it calls for helping parents to assist their children in developing skills which is more specifically related to the parent-as-teacher mentality of traditional deficit theories of parental involvement. The skills that are promoted do not draw upon parental knowledge thus parents need to be taught specific skills the schools want them to impart in their children.

The specific examples of suggested content of the parental involvement grant more explicitly promote deficit models of parenting and do not really provide space for the creativity and "uniqueness" elicited in the cover letter. Below are just some of the proposed goals "suggested" by the grant application which focus solely on reading activities:

> · Increase the amount of reading Title I students do (indicator: number of books or pages read)
>
> · Enable students to read more difficult texts (indicator: over the course of the year, students accelerate through the reading series).

These goals provide a narrow definition of what a parental involvement program could possibly do to involve parents. The grant's goals are based upon what the teachers and school district want from parents and portray the specific agenda of the school. The grant does not enable parents to feel empowered in their children's education and only provides help for the school's literacy goals.

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[5] Emphasis mine.

The proposed activities shown on the sample grant proposal also foster the mentality that the parent should be the teacher of their children and that they should be taught what the school values rather than looking to the parents' values. Some examples of how assistance activities might be described include describing activities in terms of:

- the texts the students and parents would read with each other
- the ways in which parents would read with students (e.g. pre-reading activities, the ways in which a parent would help when a student would have difficulty with a word, phrase, sentence; the question's (sic) students and parents would discuss after they had read part of the text)

These activities assume that parents can, should, and will interact with their children in certain ways around texts. They assume a middle class orientation towards texts and examples of alternative activities which are truly unique (like the Gonzalez et al. (1995) funds of knowledge emphasis) are not provided. Families are to be taught and fixed rather than understood.

The grant also required evaluation of the program's outcomes. Sample program evaluations are based on a quantitative and narrowly defined set of scales by which one can quickly obtain data rather than qualitatively obtaining information concerning participants' experiences. It is understood that there is difficulty in obtaining qualitative data on a short one year program in parental involvement, but if the grant is promoting itself as looking for unique ways to involve parents and really aims at receiving parent's opinions about what occurred with the grant funds, more emphasis should be made on interviews rather than questionnaires. Interviews, on the other hand, provide a way for parents to be more open and express their opinions concerning the program without being confined to answers on scales. Also, in the case of parents with low literacy levels, like Carlos' mother, questionnaires can be intimidating and ultimately misunderstood or not understood at all.

The sample evaluations contain questions concerning the frequency of activities the grant seekers wanted to occur in the home. The proposal asks educators to ask questions such as "How often did you work with your child on reading-related activities?" and "Rate on the scale to the right, how regularly you do each of the activities?" to determine how involved parents were with their children at home. Teachers are asked to assess the student's improvement in certain skills promoted or taught through the grant. These questions provide limited information, but did not really get to the question of how parents perceived involvement attempts. This should have been a large concern for a parental involvement program targeting low-income minority and language minority parents. An important part of parental involvement with low-income parents and those who do not share the same cultural assumptions of the school is how they perceive the program attempts. This information can help educators provide more culturally sensitive parental involvement programs.

As can be seen above, the parental involvement mini-grant has a specific agenda to help families help their children in ways that are valued by the school. The mini-grant becomes a tool to implement change in the homes that will possibly improve the academic achievement of the children in the homes. The sample activities suggested by the grant do not attempt to incorporate activities which might bridge differences between the minority home and the majority school but are attempts to make minority families assimilate to the values and practices of middle class homes.

Approaching a parent with the "mini-grant"

When I began working at the elementary school, my supervisor suggested that I apply for a parental involvement mini-grant which was offered by the school district. I wanted to work in the language minority homes but had not had the opportunity to work with the families until the application for the grant was due. I then approached the family of Carlos, one of the Latino students who needed the most help, to receive his parents' participation in the grant.

When I went to Carlos' home, I was afraid. I did not know how I would be received by his mother. It was uncomfortable going to the home of a student and proposing activities which would attempt to change the home environment of the student. I walked the four short blocks from the school to his home and found a new mom and her three month old child waiting to greet me. She allowed me to enter her house and I hesitantly fumbled out a broken Spanish explanation of what a "mini-grant" was, which I explained as "un poquito de dinero" (a little money) that was supposed to help her help her child improve his performance in school. She agreed to participate in the grant and signed the form (which had her name hand printed at the bottom of the form) I had brought for her to sign and I left her home promising that I would be back to teach her English over the summer.

The forms she signed were all in English. I had filled out the forms with all of the information the school district required but there was no attempt by myself or the school district to translate the forms into Spanish or any other language so that the parents who were going to participate in the program could read what they were actually signing.

The summer following the grant application, we started the English classes but they lasted only about two months. They transformed from English classes to social events in which I was invited to the Lopez home to eat lunch, talk with Carlos' mother Esperanza, help Carlos read a book, and socialize with the family. Offering English classes was an activity the sponsors of the grant suggested, and I felt that it would be a useful and desirable activity for this family especially since they had only been in the US for a few months.

I talked to Esperanza several times over the summer concerning how she could help her children at home so that they would perform better at school. I would bring books to show her what the school expected the children to be able to read. I also purchased flash cards to use to work with Carlos in order to help him improve his knowledge of basic sight words. Esperanza, to show her interest in her children's education, shared a book with me that she had brought from Costa Rica with her that had basic consonant vowel combinations in Spanish and rhymes that children could read to learn how to say the consonant vowel clusters. She would sit with her son with the book and ask him to read the words to her.

The school year after the summer English classes I continued to work in the same school. I spent more time working with all the Spanish speaking students in small groups in the hallways outside of their classrooms. I changed from a focus on repetition to a focus on reading whole stories. I purchased popular books, including books from the Arthur book series, to give students books with characters they had seen in their classroom readers and on TV. I also used flash cards to teach basic vocabulary and reinforce vocabulary they heard in the stories.

By the second month in the school year I received the grant and was told that the money would be deposited in a general school budget and budget codes were needed to withdraw the money. The program had to go on for about six months without funding due to the fact that the school budget person was sick most of the school year. Her replacement was only doing part of her job so the job of ordering supplies had to wait until she returned in February of 2001.

I continued to encourage home involvement in Carlos' family through weekly visits to Carlos' home. I would visit his home and bring children's books that I bought at the university bookstore. I would have lunch with the family, chat with Carlos' mother, and then sit down to read books with him and his younger brother Esteban. Rather than asking their mother to read to them, I would often model reading behavior with them. However, it was almost always in English with some questions in Spanish added in.

I worked with Carlos and his brother on several occasions. On most Saturdays, I would arrive at their home at 11:00 am and teach their mother English for two hours. Around lunch time I would finish the teaching session and sit and talk with their mom while she prepared lunch. After lunch I would sit in the living room with Carlos or Esteban and read Dr. Seuss books to them. I would encourage Carlos to repeat passages I had read, and I would point out words from the story he didn't know. He struggled with reading the passages by himself. When I worked with his brother I would mainly read the story aloud. Carlos didn't appear to enjoy the session in the beginning because he had a difficult time reading. His brother, on the other hand, enjoyed being read to and would ask over and over to be read *The Cat in the Hat*. Carlos didn't like reading the same book more than one time. Sometimes I read alone with the children, and sometimes their mother would watch me read to them after she had finished cleaning up the kitchen after lunch. She could only read some basic words in English, and so she could not read along with us.

Sometimes Carlos and I would also go over flash cards. I would quiz him with flash cards that had both the pictures and words. He could identify some of the pictures by sight, but many times he could not identify the word or picture. He also had a hard time pronouncing the words and he would struggle with the activity.

My work with Carlos' family occurred over a year and a half period of time. I taught his mother and another woman from the community English. I also read to the two brothers and tried to promote reading and literacy activities in their home.

A Day at School

Part of what I proposed in my grant included holding meetings in order to inform Latino parents of school expectations and school literacy. A small casual meeting occurred in April of the year 2000 when parents were invited to come to the school, take a tour, and receive information concerning what the school expected of parents. I focused on Latino parents because I provide tutoring services for Spanish speaking children at the school. There was only one meeting because I did not receive the materials for the meetings until almost the end of the school year.

I met with two parents: Esperanza, the mother of Carlos, and Linda, a parent of a young boy who had just moved to the neighborhood that year. Carlos' mother reluctantly attended the meeting because she did not have a babysitter. However, I persuaded three students from a fourth grade class to provide babysitting services and rewarded them with stickers.

During the meeting I talked to the parents about the differences between education in Costa Rica and the United States regarding the expectations schools have of parents. I knew about the expectations because of 10 months of experience in Carlos' home talking to his parents and relatives. This previous contact with Carlos' family provided valuable information concerning where misunderstandings might occur between the Costa Rican homes and U.S. schools.

We started with a tour of the school, and I showed the two women where their children had their school activities. We went through the gym, cafeteria, ESOL classroom, homeroom classes, and library. We sat down and observed a first grade class for a little while even though they could not understand everything that was going on because of their limited English skills. I had set up a table in the library with educational materials that they could use to help their children attain higher literacy skills. I had flash cards, books, workbooks, pens, crayon, pencils, paper, and other materials that they could explore.

We sat down, discussed their experiences in the school, and used some of the materials to make flash cards. In discussing their experiences with the school, they told me how frequently they came to the school to talk to teachers and why they came to the school. Both parents said that they attended school primarily for report card sessions twice a year and did not attend any other meetings the school planned for parents. The major reason they gave for not attending school meetings was their lack of English skills because all meetings and the fliers for the meetings were in English.

We worked to make homemade flash cards that they could use with their children at home. I explained the value of flash cards in helping their children learn new vocabulary as well as their spelling words. I also discussed how they could find materials at dollar stores or office supply stores to help their children in school.

I did attempt to get the parents to talk about their experiences at school because this is what I had proposed in the grant. I had learned that parents need to teach certain literacy skills to their children so they could succeed in American schools. In the beginning, I was unaware of alternative ways to involve parents that could be incorporated into a program that did not involve deficit approaches. As a result of my ignorance, I only taught parents how to make flash cards in efforts to help their children. I also fed them the information that the school wanted them to know so that they could potentially change to include the types of activities that the school wanted them to include in their home lives. I did not at that time know about the funds of knowledge approach to parental involvement and so I was not trying to tie parents experiences to the school and promote the parents own ways of teaching their children.

Interviews of Mini-Grant Participants

I must admit that I followed the parental involvement proposal to the letter and attempted to do exactly what they wanted. My initial goals reflected the same deficit mentality of those who had created the parental involvement mini-grant proposal, but in the process of reading more on parental involvement and taking a course specifically on parental involvement in schools I began to reassess the value of the activities I promoted in the households of the parents I worked with.

The following section looks at the interviews concerning the program. I performed interviews with Carlos and his mother Esperanza after the program. I transcribed the interviews in order to assess the activities which occurred during the time I spent in their home. I will discuss what questions I asked and what questions I should have or might have asked to provide a more detailed picture of what occurred in the parental involvement activities I promoted. I specifically want to draw a picture of how the participants in this case study perceived my interactions with them as someone trying to promote more involvement in their homes in school based activities.

In order to get a picture of how I was perceived as an outsider coming into their home I asked Esperanza what she felt was my role in her life and the lives of her children. She told me that she thought that she learned a lot from me including how to speak a little English. She also commented that I helped to inform her concerning her children's school and kept her in contact with her children's teachers. She felt that she might not have been as involved if she had not had my help.

This passage shows how my interaction with the family was perceived as helpful. She tells me that she now knows that

> E: los padres tenemos que ayudarles a los niños, es que no solo los maestros tienen que que este ayudarles a los niños en que los padres también?? que nuestra parte, para que ellos aprendan mas y que es una obligación de nosotros estarlesayudando
>
> E: the parents we have to help the children, it is not only that the teachers have to help the children but the parents have to too, to do our part, so that they learn more and it is our obligation to help them.[6]
>
> (page 3, Esperanza interview)

It was clear from interviews and conversations that Esperanza understood what I was trying to implement through the parental involvement mini-grant. She understood that the school felt that the education of her children was not only the responsibility of teachers but also the responsibility of parents. Although she did provide the basic needs for her children, much like those described by Valdés (1996) she also began to understand that what she perceived as helping her children was not enough. While it was clear that this is what the school wanted, in hindsight it also possibly had the effect of disempowering Esperanza. She only had a fourth grade education in Costa Rica and because of her lack of formal education it was often difficult for her to help her sons. My parental involvement efforts in her home also possibly had the effect of letting her see that she could not really help her children in the ways the school desired. The only way she could help them is through people like me coming to help her.

One of the more obvious changes in Esperanza from the beginning of the year to the end of the year was her realization that she school expected her children to know a lot before they entered the school's doors. She understood that the school expected for her to teach her children their numbers and alphabet. In the beginning she thought that all she had to do was physically prepare her children for school by feeding and clothing them. This realization was both good and bad. On the one hand she gained the knowledge of what the school expected, but on the other hand she could not meet the school's expectations due to her own lack of education.

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[6] I translated the interviews into English and my translation is included below the Spanish text.

If a different approach were taken such as looking into funds of knowledge in the family and trying to incorporate knowledge of the home *with* that of school it might have been possible to empower Esperanza and let her know that the knowledge she had, whether about housekeeping, childrearing, or other things, was valuable. Also there might have been other ways she could have interacted with her children, besides the ways I modeled for her through reading to the children, that could have been useful and helpful. But this would also take a change in the attitude and approach of teachers, administrators, and the curriculum of the school. A curriculum could include the experiences of parents as a way of empowering them and promote their help in home assignments.

It is also apparent from the interview with Esperanza that obtaining outside help when she could not provide it for her children was perceived by her as an important aspect of being involved. When asked whether in the previous year, when her son Carlos was retained in the second grade, she helped him with his homework she said:

> E: Nunca les ayudaba casi nunca, o sea yo trataba de de ver si podía ayudarles pero no podía ni entendí antes entonces a veces llamaba a Carolina o alguien para que me ayudará, el año pasado por eso le fue mal Carlos, no pude aprender bastante porque no le ayudaba y no tenía quien ayudarles
>
> E: I never helped them (Carlos and Esteban) almost never, or at least I tried to see if I could help them but I could not, neither did I understand thus at times I would call Carolina [her sister-in-law] or someone to help me last year, because of that Carlos didn't do well, he could not learn enough because I didn't help him and did not have anyone to help him.
>
> (page 5, Esperanza interview 5/5/01)

It became clearer that my presence changed how she perceived her job as a parent to children attending American schools. She would often tell me that the teachers in Costa Rica would get mad if you taught your child to read before they got to school because they felt parents could not get it right. The American school system was now calling on her to perform activities at home that she had previously taken for granted as the school's responsibility.

She did acknowledge that she began to help Carlos more with his homework since I had been at her home. She states,

> E: Cuando le manda este a hacer oraciones o entonces el a veces no no no sabe lo que significa una palabra entonces yo se la busca en diccionario, yo le ayudo a buscar en el diccionario... ya la escribe o si no ya el sabe buscar en el diccionario ya el aprendió
>
> E: When they send it to do sentences or even at times he does not does not understand what a word means then I look for it in the dictionary and I help him look for it in the dictionary... then he writes it or if not he looks for it in the dictionary and he learns it.
>
> (page 11, Esperanza interview 5/5/01)

I interviewed Carlos to assess how he felt life at home had changed since he had come to the U.S. I wanted in particular to find out if my attempts to increase home activities had actually resulted in greater numbers of school like activities and supplies at home. In an interview with him, I questioned him concerning books in his home before and after my involvement activities. He recalled that there weren't any books in English in his home when he came to the U.S. He stated that he later received books but mainly that he had received books within a few months of the interview. In the interview it appeared that there was some increase in the number of books Carlos' father brought to the home. It also became clear that Carlos' father did not know what reading level his son was at and thus brought home books which were well above Carlos' reading level. I also observed the types of books Carlos' father brought to the house and they were for fourth and fifth graders when Carlos was only in the second grade. Carlos' father was unaware of the importance of the level of the books and this was something he could not really assess either. His knowledge of English was extremely limited and thus he oftentimes brought books which were well above Carlos' reading level and thus not very useful in helping Carlos learn to read.

When Carlos was asked about whether someone helped him with his homework, he responded that his mother helped him. When asked what kinds of homework his mother helped him with, Carlos stated that his mother helps him with his spelling words. Both he and his mother recounted numerous times when they used a Spanish/English dictionary to look up words for his spelling assignments. They also looked up words while he was reading if he didn't know a word. Esperanza also recalled times when she did not know the word in Spanish and so she used a Spanish dictionary that I had given her to look up the Spanish definitions of some words.

The involvement pattern of Carlos' parents did show their love for Carlos and their interest in his education, unlike the assumption that minority parents do not value school. What was missing from the interaction between myself and my research participants was a more culturally sensitive approach to home activities. I felt that I helped the family in their knowledge of the school system and was sensitive to their culture in general but the activities and behaviors I attempted to encourage in Carlos' home were still concurrent with the view of changing the family structure, something Valdés (1996) carefully warns against.

There needs to be more research concerning how to implement activities which are culturally congruent and take advantage of knowledge obtained through funds of knowledge research. This research is yet to be done extensively. There needs to be more research on the funds of knowledge along in Costa Rican households with more sensitive classroom homework that specifically targets the strengths of language minority families can hopefully improve the educational outcomes of the children from those families.

Conclusion

As I attempted to show in this paper, traditional parental involvement programs base parental involvement on activities typically performed by middle class parents. They use the middle class model of parental involvement in efforts to involve language minority and all other parents. This model of fixing families and making them more like middle class families does not promote the strengths of minority families and denigrates the efforts these families make to educate their children.

Through looking at the application for a parental involvement minigrant as well as my own involvement efforts with a Costa Rican family, one can see that there still needs to be a lot more work done in order to fully utilize the potential of language minority families and have inclusive parental involvement that does not require an entire overhaul of the interactions these families have with their children. Rather than counting the numbers of books read, hours of interaction, and skills obtained, parental involvement programs need to find ways to make parents feel and know that they are valued and play an important role in their children's school life as well as home life. This can be achieved through critical evaluation of home involvement attempts and implementation of programs similar to the funds of knowledge paradigm that finds value in all homes. Thus, parents would feel more important to the education of their children in U.S. schools and parental involvement programs would be more successful in increasing the motivation of families to participate in schools. Focusing on families' goals rather than schools' goals has the potential of transforming the school experience and helping children succeed.

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Kimberly Daniel-White is a doctoral candidate in the Educational Linguistics program at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include parental involvement, the English Only controversy, language planning, and bilingualism.

What is missing in interlanguage? Acquisition of determiners by Korean learners of English

Hyun-Sook Kang

University of Pennsylvania

This study concerns the acquisition of a new functional category and its related features in the domain of DP(determiner phrase) in an advanced stage of interlanguage development (L1 Korean and L2 English). Two Korean post-critical-period subjects with advanced English proficiency participated in a grammaticality judgment task and their performances were compared with an English-native-speaking control. The results suggest that functional features present in the L1, but not in the L2, are absent in advanced learners' interlanguage. The implications of these findings for pedagogy are discussed in terms of provision of focused, explicit input, opportunities for output production, and timely feedback.

According to the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH)(Hawkins & Chan 1997), new features of functional categories in a second language (L2) are not acquirable beyond the critical period, assuming full transfer of a first language (L1) and partial access to Universal Grammar (UG) in post-puberty L2 acquisition. In order to judge this hypothesis regarding learners' interlanguage representation, I will concentrate on two differences in the DP between English and Korean, assuming a functional category Number (NUM)[1] between Determiner (D) and Noun Phrase (NP): (1) [+/- Definite] on D (2) [mass/count] on NUM. While the two functional features are not instantiated in the L1 (Korean), they are present in the L2 (English). This study examines the presence or absence of the new functional features at a later stage of L2 acquisition by Korean learners of English so as to test the predictions of the FFFH.

DPs in English and Korean

The structure of the English DP is illustrated in (1):

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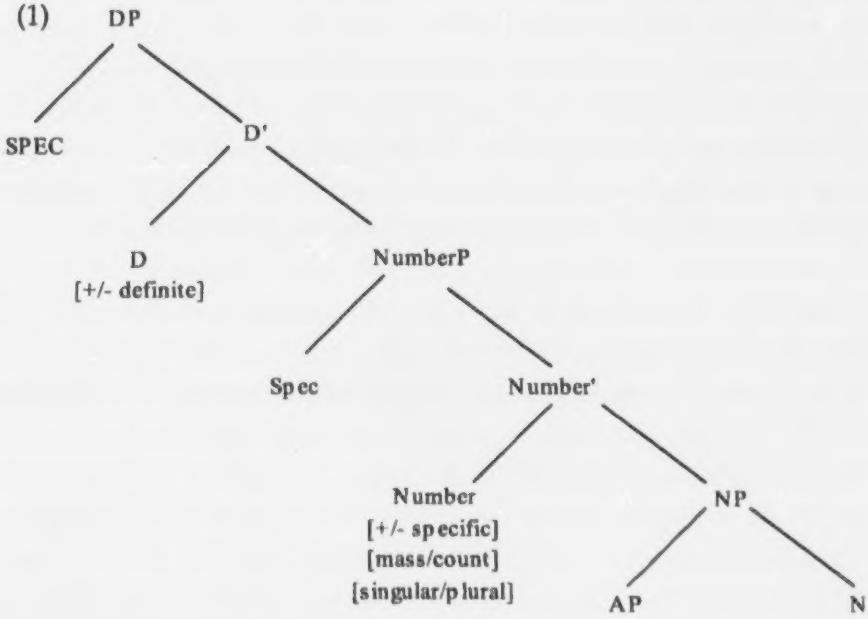
[1] Researchers have discussed that NUMP in English carries features related to grammatical number, such as [singular/plural] and [mass/count] (MacLaughlin 1997).

(1)



As shown in (1) above, according to the DP hypothesis, the functional head, D heads noun phrases in English (Abney 1987 cited in MacLaughlin 1997). It is assumed that the semantic notions of definiteness and specificity are represented on the D and the NUM head, respectively (Chomsky 1995), rendering three possibilities: (1) specific definiteness; (2) specific indefiniteness; and (3) non-specific indefiniteness. An additional functional category NUM is placed between D and NP, carrying features associated with grammatical number. The [mass/count] and [singular/plural] features are placed on the NUM in English.

As far as Korean noun phrases are concerned, Kim (2000) proposes that the D head is projected as a phonetically null D, carrying [+/-Specific], which derives the movement of noun phrases. Cheng & Sybesma (1999)[2] argue that noun phrases in Chinese-like languages (in terms of an extensive use of classifiers) are Numeral-projections, and that the classifier is the locus of grammatical number. Thus, it is assumed that a Number phrase and its associated features [mass/count][3] are absent in Korean noun phrases. In other words, the [mass/count] feature on the NUM is not activated in L1 Korean even though [singular/plural] is present on the Classifier head. The structure of Korean DPs is given as follows:

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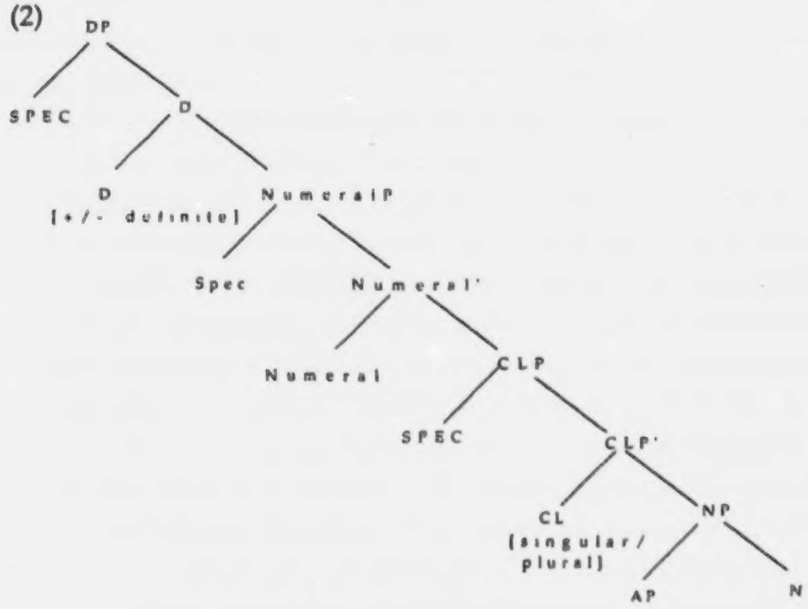
[2] Although they argue that Chinese noun phrases lack the D head in contrast to Kim's proposal, I will follow their proposal regarding the absence of the Number head and the presence of Number on the Classifier head.

[3] Cheng & Sybesma (1999) propose that the Number feature is represented on the Classifier (CL) head in Chinese-type languages. Thus, it seems likely that in Korean noun phrases, [singular/plural] is located on CL, not on NUM as in English, and yet [mass/count] is absent.

(2)



Taken together, the comparison of the two languages with respect to the functional category and its related features within the domain of the DP is as follows:

Table 1. Comparison of Korean and English in terms of functional category and its related features in the DP

	Korean (L1)	English (L2)
Determiner Head	v (phonetically null)	v (overt)
[+/- Definite]	x	v (on the D head)
[+/- Specific]	v (on the D head)	v (on the Number head)
Number Head	x	v
[singular/plural]	v (on the Classifier head)	v (on the Number head)
[mass/count]	x	v (on the Number head)

Acquisition Theories: Full vs. Partial Access to UG

I will summarize two contrastive views in regard to the accessibility of UG at more advanced stages of interlanguage development. One is the full access position (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; Vainika & Young-Scholten 1996). Although these two proponents of the full access hypothesis differ with respect to the role of the L1 in the L2 initial state,[4] they converge on the idea that UG is fully accessible in the course of L2 acquisition. That is, parameter resetting is possible and, thus, new functional categories and features, which are not instantiated in the L1, are acquirable.

There are some theorists, however, who advocate the partial access position (Hawkins & Chan 1997). Proponents of partial access argue that in post-childhood L2 acquisition, learners map morphophonological forms from the L2 onto L1 feature specifications and fail to acquire differently fixed functional features, establishing grammatical representations which diverge from those of native speakers, as well as from their L1s. This study is grounded in the partial access position, focusing on the presence or absence of the new functional features in the L2, such as acquisition of the new features, [+/-Definite] and [mass/count] in L2 English by Korean learners.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

On the basis of the FFFH and the differences between the L1 and L2 in the domain of DP, the following research question is formulated: Given the FFFH that L2 learners who started to be exposed to the L2 fail to acquire new features in the L2, if advanced L2 learners encounter new features in the DP domain that are absent in the L1, how would they handle the differences between the L1 and L2?

With the above research question in mind, the following hypotheses are made:

> Hypothesis I: Post-childhood Korean learners may transfer the [+/-Specific] from the L1 to the interlanguage representation and yet cannot attain the [+/-Definite] in the L2 since it is not activated in the L1.

Under hypothesis I, it is predicted that Korean learners may use definite and indefinite expressions in specific and non-specific contexts, mapping the [+Specific] and [-Specific] in the L1 onto the definite *the* and indefinite *a* in the L2, respectively. However, Korean learners may encounter a problem with the specific indefinite article *a*.

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[4] Schwartz & Sprouse argue that the initial state of L2 acquisition is the final state of L1 acquisition, proposing the full transfer/full access (FT/FA) model, whereas Vainikka & Young-Scholten argue that L2 learners only transfer the lexical projections of L1 in the initial state and functional projections gradually emerge, independently of the L1. However, the contrast regarding the L2 initial state is beyond the scope of this study.

> Hypothesis II: Korean learners may acquire plural marking in English since [singular/plural] is activated in Korean[5] and yet they may fail to acquire the new L2 distinction between mass/count nouns and apply [singular/plural] to mass nouns.

Under hypothesis II, it is predicted that Korean learners may treat English mass nouns as the same[6] as count nouns, applying [singular/plural] even to mass nouns. This will yield ungrammatical forms, such as *an equipment* or *equipments*.

Methodology

Subjects

The experiment was administered to two Korean learners of English (one female and one male), who are graduate students at a Canadian university. The experimental participants showed advanced proficiency[7] on the Michigan Placement Test. Both of them were first exposed to English at the age of twelve in a foreign-language learning environment in Korea. The amount of exposure to English that they had had was fourteen and sixteen years, respectively. One American-English-speaking control subject participated in the test, and is also a (female) graduate student at the university.

Grammaticality Judgments: Rationale for Grammaticality Judgment

To avoid processing difficulties, such as slips of the tongue, memory, etc., often found in production tasks, Grammaticality Judgment (GJ) may be appropriate to tap into the L2 learners' implicit knowledge of the new functional features in the domain of the DP. The rationale for GJ is that if Korean learners have unconscious knowledge of [+/-Definite] in comparison to [+/-Specific] and of [mass/count], they will choose the correct forms of articles and mass nouns by imagining the context without visual clues.

Indeed, GJ is superior to picture description tasks in inferring the knowledge of the functional features associated with definiteness and specificity in the DP, in that a visual context may be a potential source for familiarity or uniqueness (Schafer & De Villers 2000). English mass nouns often refer to a total, such as traffic, money, etc. Thus, providing subjects with pictures of these mass nouns might mislead them to produce incorrect plural forms, thus obscuring their actual knowledge of the distinction between mass and count nouns. GJ may also be more appropriate than a story-telling production task in testing the DP structure of the interlanguage, in that it is hard to identify and deliver appropriate information regardingdefiniteness and specificity by means of actual stimuli. In sum, it seems that GJ is suitable for testing the presence or absence of the subtle functional features in the interlanguage grammar as long as possible drawbacks are carefully controlled, as described in the following section.

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[5] As discussed above, the [singular/plural] feature seems to be placed in different functional heads in English and Korean. Whereas the feature is placed on the Number head in English, it is on the Classifier head in Korean. Despite the difference in its location, the feature is assumed to be available in the two languages.

[6] In fact, both mass and count nouns require classifiers along with Number phrases in Korean, indicating that there is no distinction between the two in Korean.

[7] The purpose of testing advanced learners is that it may be necessary to look at later stages in order to determine whether UG is fully or partially accessible in IL development. Investigation of an initial state may provide evidence as to whether L1 parameters are transferred in L2 acquisition but fail to provide compelling evidence as to whether UG is available in the course of IL development.

Task description

Since time on task is a crucial factor affecting the subjects' performance, the participants were instructed to take as much time as they needed to reach their decision with each item. Thus, they were exempt from time pressure. However, in order to exclude the learners' explicit or conscious knowledge of the L2, the participants were asked not to reflect on test items and not to return to questions on the task that they had already answered. Considering a response bias in judging the structures, the same number of grammatical and ungrammatical structures was provided along with distracters targeting different structures. In addition, for the purpose of avoiding guesswork on the task, the subjects were asked to correct ungrammatical or ill-formed structures.

Test Items

A total of 40 tokens were presented in the test along with 10 distracters: 10 tokens for each of four types (5 grammatical and 5 ungrammatical). All the test items were arranged in a way that no three consecutive items tested the same thing so as to reduce the chance of subjects becoming aware of the linguistic knowledge being tested (Hawkins & Chan 1997). Four different types were given: (1) Specific definite *the*; (2) Specific indefinite *a*; (3) Non-specific indefinite *a*; (4) mass/count nouns. Sentences designed to test each type were one or two sentences long. See selected examples below:

(1) Type 1. Specific definite *the*:

a. Ed and Carol went to a French restaurant in Montreal. The restaurant is famous for its seafood.

b. I saw a very interesting movie last night. The name of a movie is "The Mexican."

Questions of type 1 are concerned with the use of the specific definite article. (1a) is grammatical while (1b) is ungrammatical and *the* should have been used before movie.

(2) Type 2. Specific indefinite *a*:

a. I usually buy a lot of frozen food when I do grocery shopping, as I have a freezer at home that I put frozen food into.

b. There was the very kind doctor in my hometown for whom everyone showed great respect.

Question type 2 is designed to test the specific indefinite article. (2a) is well-formed while (2b) is ill-formed and *a* should have been used. Based on the hypothesis that Korean learners may map [+Specific] in the L1 on to the definite article *the* in the L2, the definite article will be used in ungrammatical test items such as (3b) in order to test the learners' knowledge of [+/-Definite] in comparison to [+/-Specific].

(3) Type 3. Non-specific indefinite *a*:

a. Jason was in the examination room but *all of a sudden* he finds out that he had forgotten to bring his pencil case. So he had to ask the invigilator if he could borrow a pen.

b. Nick is going to the pond to catch some fish. He will need to buy the fishing rod.

Questions of type 3 are concerned with the non-specific indefinite article. (3a) is grammatical, but in (3b), the non-specific indefinite article *a* should have been used.

(4) Type 4. Mass/count nouns:

a. To make pancake batter, you have to mix milk, eggs, and flour.

b. The newlywed just bought basic kitchen equipments since they have to save money for housing.

Questions of type 4 pertain to the distinction between mass/count nouns in English. (4a) is grammatical while (4b) is ungrammatical since the mass noun cannot take a plural form. Based on the hypothesis that Korean learners transfer [singular/plural] in the L1 but cannot attain the new feature [mass/count], it is predicted that they may treat mass nouns as count nouns. Thus, in ungrammatical test items, either *a* or a plural marker has been added to mass nouns as in (4b) so as to test the participants' knowledge of the distinction between mass/count nouns.

Results

Acquisition of [+/-Definite] and [+/-Specific]

The aim of the GJ task was to test the absence or presence of [+/-Definite] and/or [+/-Specific] on DPs of Korean learners' interlanguage system, i.e. whether they can properly use the definite and indefinite articles in the required contexts in the L2. The results of this task are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean percentages of correct responses in GJ task on [+/-Definite] and [+/-Specific]

	Def-Spec	Indef-Spec	Indef-Nonspec
L2 Advanced (n=2)	100%	70%	100%
Control (n=1)	90%	100%	100%

As seen in Table 2 above, the experimental participants were quite successful in judging the grammaticality of the specific definite and nonspecific indefinite articles, and somewhat successful in the case of the specific indefinite article. It was revealed that the two participants consistently overgeneralized the specific definite article *the* for specific indefinite context. The control subject showed an almost perfect performance across the three question types.[8]

Acquisition of [mass/count] and [singular/plural]

The results of the GJ task items that tested the advanced learners' use of English mass nouns in relation to the [singular/plural] feature are shown below:

Table 3. Mean percentages of correct responses in GJ task on mass nouns

	Mass Nouns
L2 Advanced (n=2)	75%
Control (n=1)	100%

As given in Table 3 above, the participants perform rather poorly in the use of mass nouns in the L2. It was found that they mistake mass nouns as countable nouns by adding a plural marker or by adding the article *a*. It seems that they misapplied the [singular/plural] feature to mass nouns, yielding incorrect use of mass nouns in the L2. This issue will be discussed in detail in the following section.

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[8] It is acknowledged that the control subject made a mistake in the use of the specific definite article. However, her error was due to her failure to read the first part of the question, which actually appeared on the previous page. Thus, her error may be considered as a performance mistake.

Discussion and conclusion

The hypotheses of the study grounded on the FFFH (i.e. full transfer and partial access) were tentatively supported in this experiment. As the full transfer position proposes (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996), formal features of functional categories instantiated in the L1 carry over to the interlanguage system. The partial access stance predicts that UG is accessible to L2 learners in some attenuated form, and that new L2 functional features, that were not activated in the L1 fail to be acquired in the course of post-puberty interlanguage development.

As far as the formal features of definiteness and specificity in the DP domain are concerned, [+/-Specific] activated in the L1 is present and yet [+/-Definite], which was not instantiated in the L1, is absent in the subjects' interlanguage representations. Post-critical-period Korean learners of L2 English performed fairly accurately on the specific definite and nonspecific indefinite articles of English, misapplying [+/-Specific] as [+/-Definite]. However, they seem to experience problems when they encounter the specific indefinite article, consistently overgeneralizing the definite article *the* in this context. It seems likely that the Korean learners of L2 English, lacking [+/-Definite] in the DP domain of their L1, resort to [+/-Specific] alone in selecting an appropriate article for the L2 context. This is divergent from English native speakers' strategy of choosing a correct article both in terms of [+/-Definite] and [+/-Specific] available.

As for the formal features of [mass/count] and [singular/plural], it was demonstrated in the GJ task that the two experimental participants showed rather low accuracy in comparison to the control subject, treating mass nouns as countable. Given the assumption that only [singular/plural] is present in the experimental subjects' L1, lacking [mass/count], it seems that the learners possess the [singular/plural] distinction in their interlanguage representation and yet fail to acquire the [mass/count] distinction in the course of post-puberty L2 acquisition. Such learners apply [singular/plural] to both mass and countable nouns, showing no ability to distinguish between the two types of nouns in the L2.

In conclusion, the 'no parameter resetting' or 'partial access' position was tentatively supported in this study. The new L2 functional features [+/-Definite] and [mass/count], which have not been activated during the critical period, are also absent during the later stages of the interlanguage representation, demonstrating a discrepancy between the native speakers' grammar and that of L2 learners. In selecting an appropriate article for a given context, the L2 learners resort to [+/-Specific], the only feature activated in the L1, and fail to apply the new feature, [+/-Definite]. In encountering mass or countable nouns in the L2, they consistently apply [singular/plural], treating mass nouns as countable.

Limitations of the study

As Hawkin & Chan (1997) point out, the FFFH provides an explicit and testable account of the observation that many adult second language learners, despite long exposure to an L2, never fully acquire the same syntactic representations as native speakers. This study, however, was restricted to the inaccessibility of UG in the acquisition of new L2 features. The study could not tell us anything about the assumption that the L2 learners' grammar is nevertheless a UG-constrained possible grammar. In addition, the results of the study could not offer us insights into the interrelationship between the acquisition of new functional categories and that of new functional features, which may be necessary to test Hawkins & Chan's (1997) prediction that new functional categories are acquirable while new functional features are not. In order to fully judge the FFFH and provide a clearer picture of post-puberty L2 acquisition, these two limitations may have to be overcome.

Pedagogical implications

The results that new functional features are absent in advanced learners' interlanguage systems indicate the importance of form-focused instruction[9] in L2 learning. Taking into account the role of determiners as a functional category in a language, meaning-oriented communicative instruction may not be sufficient to lead L2 learners to pay attention to and acquire new functional features and to restructure their interlanguage.

There are two pedagogical implications that arise from the findings regarding advanced learners' interlanguage. First, there is a need for enhanced input through direct teaching of the discrepancies between L1 and L2 language structures. Intermediate/advanced learners have restructured an interlanguage system based on their L1 structure and their experiences in the L2. Focused explicit grammar instruction accompanied by negative evidence (i.e., information about what is not possible in a language) may play a role in helping L2 learners develop a more target-like interlanguage representation. Second, opportunities for output production and provision of timely feedback may be necessary for L2 learning. L2 learners may test their hypotheses on an L2 by producing output, which may trigger corrective feedback. Provision of correct forms via timely feedback may play a positive role in interlanguage development. Although they might reach an advanced level of proficiency, without opportunities for the appropriate input and output, L2 learners will hardly notice the presence of new functional features, and may fail to achieve accuracy and precision in form.

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[9] Spada (1997) made a distinction between focus on form and form-focused instruction as follows. The former was defined by Long as being restricted to meaning-based pedagogical events in which attention is drawn to language as a perceived need arises rather than in predetermined ways. The latter is used to refer to pedagogical events that occur within meaning-based approaches to L2 instruction but in which a focus on language is provided in either spontaneous or predetermined ways. The term, form-focused instruction is adopted in this study in that, given the absence of new L2 features in interlanguage, there is much need for instruction to draw learners' attention to accuracy and precision of form in predetermined ways as well as spontaneous ways.

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Appendix

Grammaticality Judgment Task

Direction: Please use your intuition to evaluate the following sentences. Read each sentence and decide whether the underlined parts of each sentence are grammatical or ungrammatical. Correct all incorrect, ungrammatical parts. If you find correct, grammatical parts, circle them. (All words are spelled correctly.)

Example: I have brother — wrong

I have a younger sister – correct

Type 1 Specific definite – *the*

Ungrammatical

1. Chris went to see a doctor this morning for his headache. Doctor wrote a prescription for him to get medications.

2. I saw a very interesting movie last night. The name of a movie is "The Mexican."

3. When you turn onto Pine Avenue, you will see two houses, a blue one and a yellow one. I live in a blue house.

4. Steve has three animals at home, a dog, a cat, and a tortoise. A dog guards the house for him.

5. Holly bought two things yesterday in Eaton Center, an evening gown and a sports jacket. She is going to a party tonight and will put a long evening gown on.

Grammatical

6. Lesley has had very bad luck recently. She bought a computer and a VCR not long ago but last week both of them broke. Her essay is due next week and she barely has time to get the computer repaired.

7. Toni just bought two new pieces of furniture, a desk and a sofa. She likes sitting on the sofa.

8. Ed and Carol went to a French restaurant in Montreal. The restaurant is famous for its seafood.

9. Russell bought two Christmas gifts the other day, a ring and a watch. He is going to give the ring to his girl friend.

10. This morning I read a magazine and a newspaper, but now I don't know where the newspaper is.

Type 2 Specific indefinite-*a*

Ungrammatical:

1. This is the picture of an amoeba, and notice that the picture is magnified thousand times so that we can see the amoeba's structure.

2. My hair is wrapped in the towel, because I'd just washed it when you called

3. I usually buy a lot of frozen food when I do grocery shopping, as I have the freezer at home that I put frozen food into.

4. There was the very kind doctor in my hometown for whom everyone

showed great respect in the town.

5. Ben is the junior assistant attending in emergency medicine at the Montreal Central Hospital.

Grammatical:

6. A young woman and a tall man were talking outside my house. I think the young woman was Chinese and the tall man was Japanese.

7. Yesterday when I walked down on the street, I saw a police officer chasing your dog.

8. There used to be an oak tree on the corner of the street but now it is gone.

9. A dining table in a dining room is a place for a family to spend most of their quality time together, having meals together, doing kids' homework, etc.

10. The actress revealed in an interview with CNN's Larry King that she is battling breast cancer.

Type 3 Non-specific indefinite-*a*

Ungrammatical

1. Ally is going to the pond. She wants to catch some fish. She will need to buy the fishing rod on the way there.

2. If you want to buy a new car, consider buying a small one. The small car costs less.

3. Vicky was in the examination room but all of a sudden she found out that she had forgotten to bring her pencil case. So she had to ask the invigilator if she could borrow the pen.

4. Sora is the better learner of Japanese than Min since she loves Japanese food and is very interested in Japanese culture.

5. Sophie has ordered a beef steak but the waiter forgot to bring her the knife. She cannot cut the steak without it.

Grammatical

6. Ellen has just xeroxed a large pile of notes in the photocopy store. But, she couldn't find a stapler to staple them together.

7. Ron just found a large bottle of seven-up in the fridge. But he couldn't find a glass to drink some of it.

8. Junko was planning to watch a musical this weekend but forgot to buy a ticket in advance. When she went to the theatre, she found out that all tickets

were sold out.

9. There may be a more direct route to the top of the mountain.

10. There is a Korean student in trouble in the department.

Type 4 Mass/Countable Noun

Ungrammatical:

1. To make a pancake batter, you have to mix milk, eggs, and a pinch of baking soda along with flour.

2. The newlywed just bought some basic kitchen equipments.

3. The girl reading a newspaper in the cafe has a long blonde hair.

4. Molly realized that applying for the grant involves red tapes and almost gave it up.

5. Dogs need a balanced diet, not just meats.

Grammatical:

6. In a large saucepan over medium-high, heat oil and sauté onion and garlic until golden. Stir in curry powder and tomato paste, cook 2 to 3 minutes.

7. I usually have cream in my tea.

8. The whole city was covered with white snow on Christmas Day this year.

9. Defrost your fridge regularly to avoid a build-up of ice.

10. The eggs were packed in straw.

Distractors

Ungrammatical

1. Sooner or later, most people is plagued by arthritis, a disease that decreases the mobility of joints and inflames the lining around them.

2. At the end of the 1920s, world economies begin a downward spiral caused by a decade-long depression in the United States.

3. Courts maintains complete transcripts of judicial proceedings.

4. Ice Hockey is the professional sport that have been the most popular with Canadians over the past several decades.

5. Archeological remains prove that bands of Vikings explore parts of North America around 1100.

Grammatical

1. Agricultural science, which focuses on the development of edible seeds and plants, has benefited remarkably from recent advances in technology.

2. Most students are aware that mastodons formerly lived in what is now the Northeastern United States.

3. Alcoholic beverages are usually consumed in the evening or late at night.

4. The era when early man mastered stone tools is known as the Stone Age.

5. Jewelry is often fashioned from fourteen carat gold, a substance composed of roughly fifty percent pure gold.

Hyun-Sook Kang is a doctoral student in the Educational Linguistics program at the Graduate School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania. She is interested in ways of facilitating second langauge acquisition in classroom settings. For her future research, she would like to address pedagogical issues in relation to learners' interlanguage representation at the developmental level.

A Study on Closing Sections of Japanese Telephone Conversations

Tomoko Takami

University of Pennsylvania

Although all conversations, once they are started, must end, the way in which termination and parting is achieved varies within and across cultures. Closing a conversation is a face-threatening act, in which interlocutors cooperate to maintain face, according to the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Recognition of the importance of teaching the norms of interaction, including closing telephone conversations, to language learners who want to acquire communicative competence urges further empirical research (Wolfson 1983b; 1989). Japanese closing of the telephone conversation, however, has not been explored fully to help language teachers understand the norms, and it is often overlooked in pedagogical practice. By employing quantitative discourse analysis using the constituents argued by Okamoto (1991), this study examines how Japanese telephone closings are realized between intimates with three phases of the closing section: namely, 1) pre-closing, 2) terminal exchanges, and 3) leave-taking. The findings of this study show that there are preferable and frequently used patterns in each of the three phases, and that closing is a crucial speech behavior since it serves not only to end a conversation but also acts as a confirmation of the interlocutors' relationships. This study encourages more empirical research so that language learners can understand the norms of closing telephone conversations in Japanese.

Introduction

Although all conversations, once they are started, must end, the way in which termination and parting is achieved varies within and across cultures. Conversations could be finished sometimes because of external situational reasons, such as having to stop a conversation on a bus because one of the interlocutors needs to get off or having to stop a conversation before the class when a teacher enters the room. However, in many situations, closing the conversation is not simply a matter of a speaker saying that he or she wants to stop the conversation. Moreover, ending conversations can be a delicate matter because it can mean a sort of parting that may offend the other interlocutor if not performed appropriately. Therefore, some type of culturally appropriate closing technique is needed.

We may understand what ending a conversation means by considering the politeness theories of Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson explain speech behaviors employing the notion of face. Their definition of face is the following:

> [Face is tied up]...with the notion of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face.' Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face (61).

One type of face is called positive face, which is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that the self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (61). The other type is called negative face, which is "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction-i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (61). Brown and Levinson claim that every competent full-fledged member of a community has face and those members cooperate with each other to maintain face during the communication. Moreover, when they encounter a face-threatening act (FTA), speakers generally try their best to maintain each other's face. Closing conversations can be considered as a FTA because a speaker who wants to finish the conversation threatens the other's positive face. Therefore, it is crucial for him or her to maintain the other's face while working toward finishing the conversation according to certain social norms.

As other speech acts like requests, compliments, and refusals are studied from the perspectives of social norms of interaction as well as grammatical rules of the language, parting and closing the telephone conversations are also studied by many researchers (Clark and French 1981; Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Halmari 1993; Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1992; Kumatoridani 1992; Kipers 1984; Tanaka 1982; Okamoto 1990). One of the pioneering studies is conducted by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), which examines American English closing from natural telephone conversation data and provides a sequential organization of closing patterns.

Further studies in American English (Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig 1992, on closing in the academic advising session; Clark and French 1981, on closing of the telephone inquiries to a university switchboard operators; and Kipers 1984, on closing of service encounters) find that people use different strategies in the closing, depending on the situation. These studies also suggest that closings can vary according to the situation even in the same language. One way that closing can vary is according to the relationships of people. Wolfson (1988; 1989) proposes the "bulge theory," which claims that the social distance between interlocutors can affect people's speech behavior. The concept of the "bulge theory" is that in certain speech acts such as compliments and invitations, there are qualitative similarities in speech behavior among the following categories of relationships: "intimates," "status un-equals," and "strangers," on one hand, and "non-intimates," "status-equals friends," and "acquaintances," on the other hand (1989:129). The reason why the two extremes on the scale of social distance —intimates and strangers— have similarities in their interactional style is because these extremes have relative stability in their relationships. That is, in the extreme relationships on the scale of social distance, it is easy for people to expect what to do in the conversation since they do not have to negotiate their relationships. On the other hand, in uncertain relationships like non-intimates and acquaintances, people become more sensitive in speaking behaviors such that they have built more solidarity and better relationships. Wolfson, et al. (1983) argues that the "bulge theory" is also applied to parting (cited in Wolfson 1989). The sequences of parting among people who have stable and fixed relationships are similar, and it is different for people who are not in such relationships including friends and acquaintances. In a study on parting presented in a seminar, Kipers states that friends and acquaintances who have no plans for specific future contact particularly show their interest for the reassurance of the relationship in parting (1983 cited in the Wolfson, 1989). Kipers states:

> Mean number of turns in these partings was the highest of any group in this study. Individual utterances were notably longer too...the lengthy negotiations over future meeting time reassure both participants that even though they may not designate a definite time when they will see one another again, they both value the relationship enough to want it to continue (132).

Furthermore, studies on the closing from different languages and/or different cultures show that partings are cross-culturally different. Tanaka (1982), for example, finds differences between American and Japanese parting, including non-verbal differences such as nodding, distance of speakers, and verbal difference with regard to types of expressions used in the closing section. For example, American speakers express joy of meeting more than Japanese speakers do. Telephone conversations, in particular, would reveal this verbal difference between Americans and Japanese since there are no visual cues.

As for Japanese telephone closings, Okamoto (1990) studies the closing conversations exchanged by Japanese native speakers and illustrates how they have different aspects from the ones of English speakers by comparing the findings from Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Clark and French (1981). Okamoto finds that there are four major differences between Japanese and English telephone conversations. The first difference concerns using a punch line as an initial closing sequence in Japanese. Japanese speakers use punch lines—more humor or jokes— to start the closing section. The second difference concerns giving a message. Japanese speakers relay messages such as "please say hello to your family member" which is not seen in English data. The third concerns expressing joy. English speakers often express their joy about engaging in the conversation, such as " it was a pleasure to talk to you, "while no Japanese speakers used this type of expression in Okamoto's data. The fourth concerns using "sayonara" or "good-bye." Japanese people do not use "sayonara" whereas English speakers usually use the equivalent "good bye" as the terminal exchange.

Okamoto's study provides a list of the characteristic features of Japanese telephone closing and offers insight into cross-cultural differences between Japanese and English speakers. It does not, however, illustrate how Japanese telephone closings are actually exchanged for two reasons. One reason is that Okamoto does not present any detailed information about the data that she collected. She merely mentions that she set up the recording devices at seven Japanese houses for two months in total and collected the interactions; she does not explain how many interactions were collected, under what conditions the interactions were made, nor the relationships of the participants of the conversations. These factors are important to take into consideration since closing can vary according to these factors. Moreover, although Okamoto presents the structural constituents that are used in the closing section in her data analysis, she does not provide any quantitative analysis of them.

These findings confirm the notion that people in a speech community share not only the grammatical rules of the shared language but also the social norms of the interaction (Gumperz 1972). In other words, people have the knowledge of what is appropriate to say or not to say as well as the well-formedness of the rules of the language. They acquire the communicative competence "... as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (Hymes 1972:277). Since the norms of interaction vary in every context and, moreover, are often shared unconsciously and implicitly by members of the same speech community, this competence is likely to be difficult for non-native speakers to acquire. Thus, when these rules are broken, people often misinterpret the violation as unfriendliness, coldness, or over familiarity (Wolfson 1983a). Therefore, it is extremely important for people outside of the speech community to acquire this competence if they want to communicate appropriately and be perceived as a part of the target language community. Accordingly, it is crucial for language learners to learn the norms of speaking in the target language and its community (Wolfson 1989).

Wolfson (1983b) even recommends further empirical studies, pointing out that many teaching materials have presented the norms of interactions with only intuitive limited knowledge. With regard to the closing section in the teaching materials, Horiguchi (1997) examines several Japanese language textbooks and discusses their example dialogues. She also claims that some closings presented in those textbooks are not necessarily the same as those found in the natural setting because the pedagogical focus may be different. Furthermore, she mentions that many of the closing sections presented are relatively short and simple; there are not many examples of relatively long closing sections exchanged by acquaintances.

With this need for empirical research of Japanese closing, this study examines how telephone closings are realized between the intimates in the Japanese language. The study attempts to illustrate the norms of Japanese telephone closing, which can be applied in Japanese language teaching and learning.

Features of Japanese Telephone Closing

Closing the telephone conversation is realized by cooperation from both speakers. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) explore conversation closing including telephone talk and claim that when closing the conversation, both interlocutors understand the speech completion and work to finish the conversation. According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), there are three phases in terms of structure of the closing section: namely, 1) pre-closing, 2) terminal exchange, and 3) leave-taking.

Pre-closing

Pre-closing is the part in which one of the interlocutors cues a signal to initiate a closing section and the other agrees to it. For example, Sacks and Schegloff (1973) find that "We-ell," "O.K…, " and "So-oo" are exchanged by both interlocutors without making coherent remarks to what they are talking about or introducing new topics. This type of exchange is called a "pass" because it "…indicate(s) that [the speaker] has not now anything more or new to say, and also to give a 'free' turn to a next" (304). And by employing the pass, the interlocutors understand that they both agree to work to close the conversation.

Terminal exchange

The other essential phase of the closing is the "terminal exchange." It is the last exchange before hanging up and it is the part in which the action of finishing the conversation is actually realized. If the pre-closing is properly exchanged, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) state, a simple exchanging of "goodbyes" following is possible.

In order to study pre-closing and terminal exchanges, examining adjacency pairs seems very important. An adjacency pair is defined as "a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers" (Richards et al.

1992). In the pre-closing, for example, when one speaker shows a signal of closing by saying "O.K...," the other agrees to it by responding to it and passing "O.K...." In the terminal exchange, for example, one person says "Bye bye," and then the other responds to it by saying "Bye." In these adjacency pairs, the first speaker gives a parting and the second speaker also returns a parting. This assumes that the second speaker understands the first speaker's intention and agrees to close the conversation. In this way, two speakers exchange good-byes. In other words, a speaker says the first utterance and the other speaker responds to it, displaying that " ...he understood what a prior aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with it" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:297).

Leave-taking

Although pre-closing and terminal exchange form the essential part of the closing section, as many researchers including Schegloff and Sacks (1973) state that closing the conversation is not so simple in real life. Actual closing includes several moves between pre-closing and terminal exchanges and in this paper; this in-between part is defined as the "leave-taking" phase. Since closing means parting as an FTA, interlocutors use different strategies to maintain each other's face and reassure their relationships. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) find in their English telephone closings that moves such as "making arrangements" a "reinvocation of certain sorts of materials talked of earlier in the conversation" are exchanged in the leave-taking phase (317).

The Study

The following study examines Japanese telephone closings in order to answer the following research question: How are Japanese telephone closings realized between intimates with regard to pre-closing, terminal exchange, and leave-taking?

Participants

With regard to the fifteen interactions examined for this study, the participants are all Japanese native speakers; however, age, sex, and social backgrounds vary, and there is no information collected in terms of relationships of the interlocutors of each telephone interaction. However, it is inferred that the interlocutors in most conversation are in close relationships. This inference is based upon by the content of the telephone calls. Native Japanese participants telephoning from the USA know that they can call anyone overseas (mostly in Japan) free of charge, but they need to talk for fifteen minutes. Therefore, one can speculate that they probably called someone with whom they would feel comfortable speaking. Some information such as marital status, or interlocutors' shared experience can be incidentally obtained by simply listening to each conversation. Another means is examining how the interlocutors address each other. Calling the other person such as Mom, and Auntie provides relatively clear-cut deductions concerning the relationship between interlocutors. Using a specific suffix attached to people's names or even not using it also provides additional insight into the interlocutors' relationships. For example, common suffixes such as san and chan are explained by Koyama (1992). San is a "... general suffix which is used regardless of sex and marital status. It can be added to either the family name or the first name, the former conveying a sense of greater formality" (46). Chan is "a suffix that expresses intimacy. It is generally used when addressing children or people with whom the speaker is on intimate terms, especially if that person is younger" (46). Furthermore, as observed by Maynard (1997), linguistic analysis of stylistic choice of language through examination of verbal endings provides yet another approach to determine the speakers' relationships. There are two styles—"formal" and "informal" — in the verbal strategies to see the relationships of interlocutors; formal style, employing "desu/masu" ending is used when people are "in formal, institutional, and official situations," and informal style is "...used among social equals. Extremely casual style is reserved for close friends" (Maynard 1997:59). In the fifteen interactions examined in this study, all participants used casual, informal styles except for one.

Data collection

For this study, data were collected from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC)[1] at the University of Pennsylvania. The data were gathered by native speakers of Japanese living in the USA calling another native Japanese speaker overseas (mostly in Japan). The international phone calls that a participant made were automatically audiotaped by using the devices prepared by LDC. Since the original purpose of this data collection at LDC was simply to collect native Japanese speaker's samples, there were no restrictions concerning whom to call, as long as the participants called a native speaker of Japanese. Also, LDC did not obtain the demographic information on the participants.

Out of a 120-member corpus collected at LDC, fifteen interactions are used for this study on closing the telephone conversation. The fifteen interactions selected were the only interactions that ended within the designated time. The majority of telephone calls collected did not finish within the time; therefore, they did not contain the whole closing section in the data. The participants were originally told that they should talk to other participants for fifteen minutes on the phone free of charge because of the research purpose, and the conversation would be automatically recorded. However, even after fifteen minutes, there was no signal that participants recieved in order to stop the conversation. Consequently, most of the conversation extended longer than thirty minutes, which is the maximum of recording time for each, and therefore, the majority of the conversation in the corpus at LDC did not include the whole closing section.

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[1] The Linguistic Data Consortium at the University of Pennsylvania (Director: Mr. Christopher Chieri) was founded in 1992 in order to provide a large-scale resource for research in linguistic technologies such as speech recognition and understanding, machine translation and so forth. The LDC collected corpus of telephone speech in many different languages including Japanese.

The duration of the average phone call examined in this study was about thirty minutes. In order to examine the closing section, the last five minutes of the conversation was transcribed and analyzed.

Data analysis

This paper examines the three phases – pre-closing, terminal exchange, and leave-taking – to analyze the closing section. Although these three phases may not always be clearly exclusive, this study examines each of the three as a separate entity in order to see how each particular part is realized in the Japanese telephone closing. The following example in Table 1 marks the three phases, using one of the interactions collected for this study.

Table 1. Sample of Interaction with Three Phases Analysis

Line	Phase	Speaker	Interaction	Constituents
1	Pre-closing	F1	*Jaane* (Well, then.)	
2		F2	*Un, jaane* (Yes, well then.)	
3	Leave taking	F1	*Imakara derukara* (because I have to go now)	external circumstances
4		F2	*Un* (Yes)	
5		F1	*Hai, ja kiwo tsukete* (Yes, then, be careful.)	wishing health
6		F2	*Un bai bai* (Yes, bye bye)	good bye
7		F1	*Mata denwa suruyo, kocchikara* (I will call you again)	promise of future contact
8	terminal exchange	F2	*Un, jaane* (Yes, see you)	
9		F1	*Hai* (Yes)	

In this interaction, pre-closing is realized by one speaker giving a signal, saying "Jaane" (well then) (line 1) and the other speaker showing the agreement (line 2). Terminal exchange is achieved by one speaker saying "Un, jaane" (Yes, see you) (line 8) and the other answering "hai" (yes)(line 9). Both pre-closing and terminal exchange accord with the claims of Schegloff and Sacks (1973). In the leave-taking part, speakers exchange four moves including external circumstances, wishing health, goodbye, and promise of future contact.

In order to investigate further what kinds of constituents are used in the closing section, the structural elements that Okamoto (1990) provides are employed in this study as well. Figure 1 presents a summary.[2]

Figure 1. Constituents Used in the Closing Section

(1) Using summary expression such as "well, that's about it, "

(2) Summarizing the content of the conversation that the speakers had

(3) Expressing result of the conversation

(4) Confirming the actions brought about from the conversation such as "well then, I will give a call, "

(5) Talking about the topics they previously talked about in the beginning of the conversation, such as "what were you doing?" and explaining the reason of the phone call,

(6) Using the punch line—using the humor and joke

(7) Talking about the external circumstances such as "it is getting late now," or "I have to go shopping."

(8) Promising future contact such as "I will call you again,"

(9) Expressing gratitude / apology such as " thank you for calling,"

(10) Wishing health and good luck such as " please take good care,"

(11) Relaying a message such as " please say hello to your husband, "

(12) Expressing goodbye such as "bye."

(148-149)

It is very important to note that this study only employs these particular structural elements listed above for the purpose of investigating which types are used in each of the three phases — pre-closing, terminal exchange, and leave-taking — of the closing section. There are several differences including the definition of key words and the analysis between this study and Okamoto's; therefore, it needs to be understood that the present study does not adopt all of Okamoto's investigation. For example, Okamoto considers only two phases—pre-closing and leave-taking — in the closing section; the terminal exchange is subsumed into the leave-taking part. The present study, however, considers the three different phases as already discussed. Okamoto categorizes constituents from (1) to (6) in Figure 1 above as pre-closing strategies and from (7) to (12) as leave-taking strategies. Although Okamoto admits that the strategy of leave-taking can be used as a pre-closing strategy and visa-versa, it is difficult to make a clear division between pre-closing and leave-taking. For the sake of simplicity, therefore, the present study does not take those categories for the constituents themselves and simply uses the constituents in order to see what types are used in each of the three phases.

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[2] Okamoto's paper is written in Japanese; a translated summary of Okamoto's findings are presented here.

Results

The results of this study reveal that there are frequently used patterns in each of the three phases -pre-closing, terminal exchange, and leave-taking. Moreover, there are strategies employed in the three phases that stand out notably.

Pre-closing

Two types of initial sequence that are frequently found for the pre-closing include mentioning the external factors to hang up the telephone and talking about future contact. Mentioning external factors such as time or the reason for having to hang up the phone is the most common. Most conversations—eleven out of fifteen closings—employ this pre-closing strategy, using expressions like "Did we spend 15 minutes already?" These behaviors of the speakers also seem to have been affected to some extent by their knowledge that they were participating in an experiment. Examples in which the speaker mentions the reason for ending the conversation includes "Jaasa, sorosoro gohan no shitaku mo surushi" (well then, it is about the time when I prepare the meal.). One interaction uses both summary expression and time in one utterance: "Ja, soiu kotode, mou 30pun tattanja naikana." (Well, that is about it. I wonder we have been talking for thirty minutes). Promising future contact such as "Jaasa, renraku surukarasa" (well then, I will contact you), and "Maasa, Nihon ni kaettara aerukarasa" (well, when I returning to Japan, we can see each other) are less frequently used as pre-closing, employed only in three interactions. These cues do not explicitly designate a definite time, but simply express the interlocutors' interest in future contact. In addition, cue words that can be considered as semi-equivalent to the English pre-closing signal such as "We-ell," "O.K...," and "So-oo" claimed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) are notably found in this study. Several interlocutors initiate the pre-closing, starting with "ja," "jaa," and "jaasa" (well then).

Terminal exchange

In order to understand the terminal goodbye exchange, the very last goodbye adjacency pair is examined. Table 2 below presents the total number used in the last dyad. Thirty expressions in total out of fifteen interactions are listed since each adjacency pair consists of two utterances; one is made by the first speaker and the other is a response made by the second speaker.

Table 2. Expressions used in the Last Adjacency Pair

Words used in the last adjacency pair	Utterances
(1) *Oyasumi/ Oyasuminasai* (good night)	7
(2) *Jaane* (see you)	7
(3) *Bai bai* (bye bye)	7
(4) *Gomen kudasai* (excuse me for leaving)	2
(5) *Sayonara* (good bye)	2
(6) *Matane* (see you again)	1
(7) *Shitrurei shimasu* (lit. I commit my rudeness to leave)	1
(8) *Hai* (yes)	3

"Bai bai" (bye bye), "Jaane" (see you), " and "Oyasumi" (good night) are frequently used as terminal exchanges. "Bai bai" (bye bye) is originally from English words, but commonly used as a casual terminal exchange in Japanese. "Jaane" (see you) and its very similar expression "matane" (see you again) are also found. Both "jaane" and "matane" are informal expressions and implicitly include the intention of contacting another time; however, their intention is very similar with its English equivalent "see you again," which is not making a specific arrangement to meet, but used as a goodbye. All of these—"Bai bai" (bye bye), "Jaane" (see you), and "matane" (see you again)—are commonly used as goodbye words between people who are close to each other.

" Oyasumi" (good night) and the more formal "oyasumi nasai" (good night) are employed often as well. Considering the fact that there is a large time difference between Japan and the US, the phone calls were made when only one of the participants was talking at night. "Oyasuminasai" literally means "sleep well" and is often used as a parting word at night in the Japanese language just as "good night" is used in American English (Miura 1990).

Less frequently though, "gomenkudasai" (excuse me for leaving) and "shitsurei shimasu" (lit. I commit my rudeness to leave) are used. It is also common to use these expressions for goodbye; however, these two words are more formally compared with the aforementioned expressions. Furthermore, the word " sayonara" is not often used in the interaction in this study and it is in accord with Okamoto's findings (1990).

Very frequently, people use the same expression, such as "bye" and "good night" using exactly the same wording found (ten interactions). In other words, people exchange the same expression such as "bye" and "bye," and "good night" and "good night" in the terminal exchange. However, there are three examples of "hai" (yes) as a part of the last goodbye adjacency pair. "Hai" literally means "yes" in English and in daily conversation, and "hai" would function as an answer to the question. However, in the closing section, "hai" is used in the second of the parting adjacency pair and implies an acceptance of the word goodbye.

Leave-taking

All of the fifteen interactions include leave-taking; however, the number of exchanges varies depending on the conversation. For example, interlocutors who suddenly notice that they speak longer than fifteen minutes decide to hang up the telephone and immediately exchange only one move in the leave-taking. On the other hand, two interactions include seven moves in leave-taking. In the fifteen interactions, the average number of moves is 3.6.

There are four important moves exchanged very frequently between preclosing and terminal exchange in the closing section: (1) wishing each other's health and happiness; (2) promise of future contact; (3) message; and (4) gratitude or apology. In addition, the repetitions of these moves are also very often found.

First, wishing each other's health and happiness is most often employed in twelve interactions. Expressing good wishes is made in three major expressions: "Kiwo tsuketene" (take care of your health), "genkide" (I wish you stay healthy), and "ganbatte" (good luck/do your best). Both "kiwo tsuketene" (take care of your health) and "genkide" (I wish you stay healthy) emphasize that the speakers wish for the other's health. "Ganbatte" (good luck) appears when people are talking about their troubles during the conversation. For example, a mother employs one of these expressions to a daughter who is talking about the trouble in her life in America.

Second, promising future contact is seen very often as well; ten interactions include promising future contact. Future contact includes both specific contact and non-specific contact. Specific contact is the case in which both speakers work to arrange the next contact. There is only one case found where speakers (a husband and a wife) talk specifically about who will write a letter next time and how often they should talk on the phone. In all other cases, however, future contacts are not arranged in detail but rather are just mentioned, such as "Mata zettai aouyo" (Let's meet again definitely), "Mata renrakusurukara sa" (I will contact you again), and "Kondo misete morau wa" (I will see the stuff you are talking about next time). The use of the words "mata" (again) and "kondo" (next time) are not explicitly made clear as to when exactly the time of future contact will occur.

Third, giving the message is also often found; eight conversations contain it. It is performed using the expression "—san ni (mo) yoroshiku" (Please say hello to—). Mostly speakers express hello to the other speakers' family members. Frequent use of giving a message is consistent with the findings of Okamoto, who claims that this feature in Japanese closing is different from English.

Fourth, several expressions of gratitude or apology are employed. Gratitude is expressed straightforwardly by saying "arigato" (thank you) and "domo arigato" (thank you very much). Both callers and receivers of the telephone calls express thanks. A caller thanks for cooperating for participating in the research and/or talking with him/her. A receiver of the call thanks the other for calling. Also there is thanking about specifically what participants previously talked about. For example "iroiro okuttekurete arigato" (thank you for sending me various things) referring to the topics which participants previously talked about. This type of thanking shows the appreciation of what the other participant will do for her in the closing section again. Apology is found less often than gratitude. Two interactions include apology, expressed by saying "gomen ne" (I am sorry), and both of them concern the telephone call. One apology is made by a caller whose phone call woke the other interlocutor up. Another is made by a speaker who has to go to a party and needs to hang up the phone very soon. Also this study finds the repetition of gratitude /apology, consistent with the findings of Okamoto's study (1990). Furthermore, repetitions of other constituents, besides the use of gratitude or apology, are also seen in the data: the repetitions of constituents including promising future contact (three interactions), wishing each other's health and happiness (two interactions), and exchange of goodbyes (ten interactions). One interaction is best exemplified by Table 3.

Table 3. Sample Interaction

Line	Phase	Speaker	Interaction	Constituents
1	Pre-closing	F1	*Ja, souiukoto. Atashi moshikashite, hachijini moushitani ikanakya ikenainda* (well, that is about it. I may have to go at 8 o'clock.)	external circumstances
2		F2	*A, hontoni* (ah, really)	
3	Leave taking	F1	*Un, jaane* (yes, see you)	good bye
4		F2	(2.1) *Jaa, matane.* (well, see you again)	
5		F1	*Matane* (see you again)	good bye
6		F2	*Un* (Yes)	
7		F1	*honto, gomenne* (truly, I am sorry)	apology
8		F2	*uun, ja, bai bai* (no, well, bye bye)	good bye
9		F1	*Baibai* (bye bye)	
10		F2	(2.2) *tanoshinde kitene* (have a good time)	wish
11		F1	*Hai* (yes)	
12	Terminal exchange	F2	*Bai bai* (bye bye)	good bye
13		F1	*Bai bai* (bye bye)	

One of the interlocutors, F1, initiates pre-closing with external circumstances (see line 1-2) and the other, F2 agrees (line 2). In the above leaving-taking, F1 uses the goodbye words, "jaane" (see you) (line 3) and F2 responds with goodbye words, "Ja, matane" (well, see you again) as well. Although F1 might have been able to finish their conversation there, F1 responds to F2, saying "matane" (see you again) (line 5), and F2 accepts F1's goodbye with "un" (yes) (line 6). Then again, F1 might have been able to finish their conversation there; however, she continues to talk. F1 expresses an apology (line 8) and F2 returns good bye again (line 8). Then F1 returns goodbye again (line 9), but the conversation still goes on. F2 expresses wishes "tanoshinde kitene" (have a good time) (line10) and F1 accepts them. After these repetitions, they finally reach the final adjacency pair saying "bai bai" (bye bye) (line12 –13).

Discussion

This study offers two sets of findings with regard to the Japanese telephone closing performed by speakers in close relationships. First, the three features of Japanese telephone closing— leave-taking, pre-closing and terminal exchange— represent key phases in the closing process. Second, in all the phases, speakers seem to cooperate not only to finish the conversation but also not to threaten each other's face.

The results of this study suggest that closing a telephone conversation is indeed a delicate and complicated process even to speakers in close relationships. Closing can be achieved by only pre-closing and terminal exchange; yet leave-taking is optional. However, from the point of norms of interaction, leave-taking is as important as the other two phases. Leave-taking is an important step in which interlocutors confirm that they are both working to finish the conversation and to reassure their continuing relationships. Leave-taking tends to occupy a large space in the closing section since it frequently includes a few different moves and repetitions. Repeating goodbyes, which is remarkably often employed, especially seems to have the effect that the speakers confirm to each other that they do not have something new to talk about and understand that they are working together toward the end of the conversation. In addition, these repetitions seem to have the effect of reassuring their relationships. In her study of repetition, Tannen (1989) states, "[Repetition] ...provides a resource to keep talking going, where talk itself is a show of involvement, of a willingness to interact, to serve positive face" (52). Repetition in the closing section, therefore, serves as an effective way to show that speakers do not have additional topics to talk about and that speakers care about their relationships. It is interesting to note that most of the telephone conversations studied here involve participants who are intimates to each other. Even between participants who are intimates to each other, speakers have intricate telephone closings using several types of moves and their repetitions. Thus, it would seem that the use of these constituents along with their repetitions in the closing section helps speakers confirm that they are working to finish the telephone conversation and emphasizes the reassurance of their relationships.

Although many researchers such as Schegloff and Sacks (1972) and Okamoto (1990) agree that leave-taking serves the function of reassurance of interlocutors' relationships, they do not extend this concept to apply to preclosing and terminal exchange. The analysis of this study, however, suggests that pre-closing and terminal exchange also share this function. Providing external factors explicitly as a pre-closing, for example, seems to be effective in order not to threaten each other's face since interlocutors are giving a legitimate reason that the participants have to finish their conversations soon, not that they want to finish it. The usage of the expression of future contact as pre-closing can be explained by considering two interpretations. First, the speakers can infer that they are ready to finish their conversation this time by promising future contact. Secondly, the speakers can show that they care about their relationships and want to continue. This is consistent with the notion of the reassurance about their relationships. With regard to closing signal "ja," Kumatoridani (1992) argues that "ja" is frequently used in the Japanese telephone closing and examines its functions. He states that one of the main functions is transition; "ja" can stop a current topic/utterances and lead to the next topic/utterances. In the present study, "ja" (well then) expressions are frequently followed by other pre-closing strategies; therefore, it seems to be a verbal bridge leading to other pre-closing strategies. Employing the "ja" expression might be particularly effective in pre-closing since it avoids the abrupt change toward the closing of the conversation.

Analysis of terminal exchange also seems to indicate interlocutors' reassurance of relationships. On top of actually finishing the conversation, employing exactly the same words in the terminal exchange and preferable use of "jaane" (see you) and "matane" (see you again) over "sayonara" (goodbye) seem to manifest the speakers' effort for the reassurance of relationships. In Okamoto (1990)'s discussion that Japanese people do not often use "sayonara" in the telephone closing, whereas English speakers usually use it as the terminal exchange, she explains that English "good-bye" connotes a measure of reassurance of the relationships in its word origin; however, Japanese sayonara does not have such a connotation and simply means parting. It is interesting to speculate, based on Okamoto's view, that the choice of terminal words might be influenced by the concept of reassurance of the relationships; words such as "jaane (see you)"and "matane (see you again)" are often used because they include the connotation of continuation of the relationships. Moreover, using "hai" (yes) in the terminal exchange can be added to the list of different features between Japanese and English closing. Kumatoridani (1992) investigates frequent use of "hai" in the whole closing section of the Japanese telephone conversation and he claims that "hai" functions to finish the discourse by displaying that the interlocutors do not have anything to add and accept the previous utterance. Therefore, this study also confirms that it is not uncommon that "hai" becomes the last utterance of the terminal adjacency pair.

Limitation of the study

The findings in this study need to be carefully interpreted before generalizing to the norms of Japanese telephone closing. The data analyzed in this study is solely between Japanese native speakers living in the United States and another speaker living in Japan. It is extremely important to note that these exchanges are mainly performed between friends, families, and people who are relatively close to each other since relationships between interlocutors are important factors for determining closing variations.

Furthermore, the research has some limitations. One is the small sample size of data. Fifteen interactions may not be enough to illustrate the norms of any particular speech act. In addition, demographic factors of the participants such as sex, age, and social background are not controlled. A further study with a larger sample and more controlled demographic factors of participants is required to ensure the findings of this study. Moreover, there may be an effect of tape recording on the telephone conversation. Since the participants were aware of being recorded and were told that they had to finish the conversations in fifteen minutes, these experimental factors might affect their conversational style and the closings may differ from the ones in natural conversation. However, Wolfson states it seems that tape-recording of a group of people, rather than, an individual, would divert interlocutors' attention away from the state of being recorded since interlocutors "...who normally interact socially are brought together and tape recorded while in the process of interacting with each other" (1976:199). Therefore, although the effect of tape-recording certainly cannot be denied, it is hoped that the interactions examined in this study offer legitimate data to study Japanese telephone closing. Furthermore, as Wolfson (1983b) claims, an empirically based analysis on the norms of interaction would be beneficial especially for language teachers and learners since those norms are very often unconsciously and intuitively shared by native speakers of the target language.

Further research and educational purposes

Although only preliminary, this study attempts to examine the norms of Japanese closing in one particular setting. The study suggests that closing the conversation is crucial speech behavior for language teaching and learning since speakers always must finish the conversation; however, it can be a very complicated and delicate task. The norms of interaction in the closing reflect not only speakers' cooperation to simply finish the conversation but also confirm their relationships. Understanding this notion may allow language teachers to raise the awareness of these features in their learners. The quantitative analysis presented in this study may be helpful in providing Japanese textbook publishers, language teachers, and language learners with ins insight and ideas concerning how to prioritize types of expressions to learn in closing telephone conversations in Japanese.

This study encourages more empirical studies of closing performed by native Japanese speakers in different situations and involving different relationships between interlocutors. The collections of these studies will allow research to provide more insight on closing and will be helpful for language learners to learn norms of closing interactions shared by native speakers of Japanese. In this way, the learners will be able to communicate appropriately with the native speakers in the target language.

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Tomoko Takami is a Lecturer in Foreign Languages at the University of Pennsylvania and teaches Japanese and business Japanese. She holds a M.S. in TESOL from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include Sociolinguistics, second language acquisition, and Language for Specific Purposes.

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